



## ↔ HEBREW ↔

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### NOTES ON THE PSALMS.'

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- LXXVIII. Of late date, in the time of the Babylonish captivity. V. 63. Notwithstanding the Septuagint and the Vulgate with which Gesenius agrees, I take **הוֹדוּ** as the Pual "praised in (nuptial) song." In the 66th verse **אָחֹרֶיךָ** means "backward;" not "in the hinder parts" with reference to 1 Sam. v. 6. Such reference is wrong, for the verse relates to the victories of Saul and Samuel over the Philistines. In the 65th verse "like a hero *overpowered* with wine," a version rightly adopted by Gesenius, Ewald, Hupfeld, and others. "*Refreshed* with wine" is incorrect. Dr. Kay, who made a version of the Psalms, for which work he was hardly competent, wrongly translates "*joyous* with wine."
- LXXX. Of late date, perhaps a prayer of the people in their captivity at Babylon. The 17th verse would have a better position after the 14th. What is the subject of the verb "let them perish"? According to the context, *the Israelites*. But this intercalation is unnatural. The beginning of the 19th verse should belong to the 18th, "thou madest strong for thyself and he will not go back from thee." The verb **נִסּוֹן** is the Perfect of Niphal, 3d person. The "Son of Man," equivalent to the Israelites.
- LXXXI. This Psalm begins with an allusion to the Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated in the middle of the 7th month, that is, at the full moon of it, and called "our feast;" the Passover and unleavened bread are not referred to. In the 6th verse "when he (God) went out against the land of Egypt," as an enemy for the deliverance of his people, the language is general. "I hear a

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.

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### I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In his introductory statement of the points agreed upon by the writers in the present discussion, as he apprehends them, my friend Prof. Harper has to some extent misconceived my attitude to the question before us, which I prefer to state in my own words.\*

If the critics were content with attempting a partition of Genesis (or even of the so-called Hexateuch) on purely literary grounds and with drawing what might fairly be reckoned legitimate inferences from such a partition, this would be a matter of curious interest but nothing more. The serious aspect of the affair is that there are presuppositions involved in the arguments employed and there are deductions made which are prejudicial to or subversive of the credibility and inspired authority of the sacred record. This constitutes the gravity of the case, so far as my view of it is concerned and so far as it affects the great body of those who reverence the Scriptures as the word of God. I am accordingly only concerned to show, first, that the partition proposed by the critics in itself and apart from unfriendly prepossessions warrants no such destructive conclusions; secondly, that many of the arguments urged in support of the current critical partition are clearly invalid.

A clear discrimination is to be made in the first place between the partition of the text itself, for which the critics contend, and the inferences professedly deduced from that partition. It is possible to accept the former and yet to retain

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\* I do not object to the statement of the question at issue, *HEBRAICA*, p. 18, § (3), "*Are there really distinct documents?*" i. e. such as the analysis of critics of the present generation presents?" provided it is not limited to the words in italics, but embraces the succeeding explanatory clause as well. It is the *current scheme* of Pentateuch division, adopted alike by critics so widely at variance in other respects as Wellhausen and Kuenen on the one hand and Dillmann and Kittel on the other, which is under discussion. This carries with it not simply the recognition of certain lines of partition, but a series of consequences uniformly regarded by its advocates as flowing from it, impugning the truth and the consistency of the sacred volume. The mutual relations of these supposed documents are accordingly of vital consequence and must necessarily be considered. That Prof. Harper and myself are really at one upon the point to be discussed is evident from the fullness with which he has set forth not merely the analysis, but its commonly accepted consequences.

the right to judge of the legitimacy of the latter. We find in Genesis a continuous, connected and self-consistent narrative, which has all the appearance of a true and veritable history, and, so far as it can now be traced, has always been so regarded by the people among whom it originated; and there appears to be no good reason for discrediting it. The mythical character attaching to the early record of pagan nations is not to be imputed to the biblical account of the primeval age of the world or of the origin of the Israelitish people. For the narrative of the Bible is absolutely unique. It stands alone among all the records of antiquity in preserving in its primitive purity the true knowledge of God, in its freedom from grotesque, mythological conceits, and in presenting a truly rational account and one which is strikingly confirmed in its main outlines at least, if not in all its details, by modern scientific research as no similar document of antiquity can pretend to be, in relation to the origin of the world, the unity of the human race, the primeval history of mankind and the filiation of nations. And as the preliminary stage in a grand scheme of divine revelation continued through succeeding ages, whose reality and supernatural character are attested by the most convincing proofs, it has a well-founded claim to be regarded as transmitting a faithful account of God's dealings with men from the beginning.

And there is an additional guarantee of the truth of Genesis in its Mosaic origin, which in spite of all critical clamor, in spite even of the concessions of eminent evangelical scholars, cannot be set aside. The laws from Exodus to Deuteronomy are, by their own positive claim, by ineffaceable internal indications and by both the express attestation and incidental historical confirmation of subsequent Scriptures, irrefragably Mosaic. And Genesis, which is clearly preliminary to the books that follow, must, as the critics themselves allow, have the same origin as they.

There is something clearly wrong in a critical process which can take a history that in itself is quite consistent and entirely credible, and sunder it into distinct documents which are mutually repugnant and irreconcilable. A purely literary analysis on grounds of diction, style and modes of thought, whatever it might reveal respecting the structure and formation of the book, obviously cannot impair the truth of that which is otherwise credible, or the consistency of that which in itself is harmonious. And in fact the damaging consequences attributed to the critical hypothesis result in great part from inferences resting not on positive data but on the critics. The fundamental vice in the whole process is that they quietly assume what they undertake to demonstrate.

We have the book of Genesis in its present form. According to the current critical hypothesis it was put together by a redactor from pre-existing documents. The portions extracted from each of these documents severally can, it is claimed, be recognized and assigned to the source from which they came. By combining paragraphs of kindred origin the primary documents can again be reproduced in

their distinct and separate state to that extent to which the redactor made use of them in his compilation. It is confessed, however, that no one of them can be restored in its completeness. There are evident breaks in their continuity. There are in each allusions unexplained in any existing paragraph of that particular document. Just how much has been dropped, or what was in the missing portions, cannot of course be known. This being the case, the allegation that a given passage had a meaning in the document from which it was taken, different from that which it obviously has in its present connection and especially a meaning at variance with the connection in which it now stands, is pure assumption on the part of the critic, for which in the nature of the case he can have no adequate justification. He has by his own admission the document in an imperfect state, with no means of filling acknowledged chasms or estimating the amount or the character of what has been omitted, and yet he presumes to challenge the work of the redactor, who by the hypothesis had the documents before him in their original completeness, and to convict him of incapacity or dishonesty. There can be no possible warrant for such a procedure, unless the terms of the paragraph in question are themselves in evident conflict with its existing context. That they are capable of a different interpretation and might be so explained in some other connection is nothing to the purpose. Many passages rent from their connection might have an entirely different meaning put upon them from that which they were intended to have.

So when it is affirmed that two or more paragraphs, which, as they now stand, describe distinct subjects or events, are nevertheless but variant accounts of the very same thing. Without the materials for the formation of a correct judgment it is arbitrarily assumed that the record in its present form is false, and that the redactor has either from ignorance or design combined his sources in a way that misrepresents their real meaning.

So too when a discrepancy is inferred from the silence of one document respecting matters set forth in another. How utterly gratuitous and arbitrary such inferences are, appears from the repeated instances in which from like premises precisely the opposite conclusion is drawn, the exigencies of the critical hypothesis itself compelling its advocates to assume that the redactor found the same thing recorded in two or more of the documents, but deemed it sufficient to extract a single account from one of them and hence passed the others by.

So also when the credibility of Genesis is undermined by alleging that the primary documents out of which it was compiled, were first committed to writing many centuries after the Mosaic age, this conclusion is notoriously and avowedly based on grounds which presuppose their unhistorical character and convert them into fluctuating myths and legends and assume likewise that all the rest of the sacred history has been tampered with and deliberately falsified.

And so in general it will be found that deductions from the critical hypothesis impugning the veracity of Genesis find no real warrant in the analysis itself, but rest upon conjectures and assumptions of the critics. They assume that the record is unreliable and untrustworthy; and every suspicion which their fertile fancy can suggest, however baseless, is accepted as a fresh proof that no dependence can be placed on its statements. It is no marvel if under such treatment its historical character is frittered away completely.

The critical partition of Genesis has been gradually elaborated during more than a century by a succession of scholars of the greatest eminence, who have expended upon it an immense amount of learning, ingenuity and patient toil, until they have at length brought it into a shape in which it is accepted with substantial unanimity by European critics of widely different schools of thought and every various grade of belief and unbelief. This is of course a very significant fact and is entitled to its full weight in the consideration of this subject. That cannot be lightly dismissed which has gained the approval of so many minds. Nevertheless it is not the weight of authority, but the force of the arguments, which is decisive. And the fluctuations of critical opinion in the past, and particularly the rapid and extensive changes which have taken place in the most recent times, caution us not to regard its present state as one of permanent equilibrium.

Some obvious grounds of doubt and hesitation offer themselves at the outset of a general nature which may be noted here.

1. The very ingenuity of the hypothesis and the perfection to which it has been brought, awaken the suspicion that its inventors may have been imposed upon by their own dexterity. In its present form it is a kind of universal solvent. With P, and J, and E, and the added resources of the old fragmentary hypothesis in the shape of P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, etc., J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, etc., on the one hand, and minute divisibility on the other, and R ever ready for any emergency in the way of transposition, modification, excision, insertion and readjustment *ad libitum*, and a latitude of conjecture which has no check but the pleasure of the operator, it seems versatile and pliant enough to be equal to anything. There is no mountain of difficulty over which it cannot work its way. There are no phenomena so adverse that it cannot be harmonized with them. It can either shape itself to accord with the facts, or can shape the facts to suit its own requirements. An argument that can prove everything, proves nothing, and one cannot escape the apprehension in the presence of a hypothesis of such universal adaptability that we may be dealing with a subjective creation rather than an objective reality, with skillfully constructed fancies instead of the actual state of the case.

2. This apprehension is increased by the rather impalpable nature of the subject dealt with and the precarious nature of the arguments employed. The wanderer in a trackless wilderness, with no compass and no fixed object to direct

his course, will almost inevitably diverge from a straight line, and may imperceptibly swerve more and more until at length he is moving in an opposite direction from that in which he started. So the very nature of the case renders it well nigh impossible that accurate results should be continuously reached in the manner attempted by the critics. The comparison of certain passages supposed to belong respectively to distinct writers, furnish various criteria of diction, style and sentiment. These criteria direct the division of new passages, which in turn supply additional criteria. And so the work proceeds step by step, each result attained being assumed as the basis of a fresh advance, the accuracy of which is conditioned by the exactness of every previous portion of the process. The liability to error in dealing with so many unknown quantities is very great from first to last; and there is no external standard by which to test the correctness of the results or to ascertain and remove the errors that have been made. And yet a slight deviation at the outset or anywhere along the line, which it might be impossible either to avoid or to detect, would vitiate all subsequent conclusions.

3. This liability to error is seriously increased by the critics' undertaking to deal with such minute quantities. In order to carry the hypothesis through it becomes necessary to sunder individual sentences, clauses and even words from their connection and assign them to authors distinct from the assumed writers of the surrounding context. This is not only precarious in itself, but gives rise to the suspicion that the critical division is regulated by foregone conclusions rather than by a fair consideration of the actual phenomena; and that this mode of manipulation is only a device for getting rid of what is really adverse to the hypothesis.

4. Connected with what has been said is the obvious danger that the critical arguments may prove to be but reasoning in a circle. The text is partitioned agreeably to a given hypothesis; every passage having certain characteristics is assigned to one writer and such as have certain other characteristics to other writers. And when the partition is complete it corresponds with the hypothesis, simply because it was made by the hypothesis.

It is freely conceded that certain phenomena, particularly in the earlier chapters of Genesis, seem to be best explained by the supposition that it was based in whole or in part upon pre-existing written sources. Before the publication of Astruc's "Conjectures," the Dutch theologian and commentator, Vitringa, expressed the belief that "various writings of their fathers were preserved among the Israelites, which Moses collected, digested, embellished, and supplemented." Such an assumption in itself considered, so far from invalidating the record, tends rather to give it additional confirmation, since it increases the number of witnesses and to a certain extent replaces oral tradition by documentary evidence. And it does not in any way affect the question whether the book in its present form is to be ascribed to Moses.

With these prefatory remarks my own attitude to the question under discussion may be briefly stated as follows :

1. The critical analysis of Genesis, so far as it is a purely literary inquiry and apart from the destructive consequences uniformly deduced from it by those who advocate and accept it, may be considered an open question to be determined by literary evidence.

2. The supplementary hypothesis is pressed with fewer difficulties than the documentary hypothesis now in vogue.\*

3. The methods and arguments by which the partition is effected are to so large an extent unsound and the conclusions drawn from them so insecure, that it is exceedingly doubtful whether any safe and satisfactory division in detail is practicable or any approach can be made in this way towards a reconstruction of the presumed original sources.

Prof. Harper divides the passage under review, Gen. 1:1-12:5, into four sections and states the views and arguments of the critics in respect to each of them severally. These sections are now to be examined *seriatim*, and in each of them inquiry will be made into

1. The alleged contradictions and discrepancies which are held to establish the existence of two independent narratives; and it will be found that even though the critical partition were allowed, no such discrepancies exist.

2. The validity of the arguments by which the critical partition is defended.

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\* One insuperable difficulty, as it seems to me, in the ordinary documentary hypothesis is its fundamental assumption that P and J constitute two distinct and independent documents prepared with no reference to each other. It is inconceivable that two separate treatises, written by different authors, neither of whom had any knowledge of the work of the other, could proceed so completely upon the same line in plan and contents. Prof. Harper is at pains (p. 66) to indicate the affinity of P and J in Gen. 1-12:9; he gives a summary of this section of the book under nine heads, each of which is treated in both documents and in the same order. So closely allied are they in fact that R has been able to produce a continuous, regularly unfolding history by piecing together alternate sections from one and the other. The critics may be safely defied to adduce a similar instance in all literature. Such a measure of correspondence cannot have arisen without design: and paragraphs borrowed from independent and unrelated sources cannot be so dovetailed together as to produce the impression of harmonious unity and uninterrupted connection. It was the embarrassment arising from this consideration which led to the substitution of the supplementary for the documentary hypothesis until the most recent school of critics found it necessary to fall back upon the latter, because the former could not be made to harmonize with their revolutionary ideas. If J did not write independently, but simply supplemented P, making additions to a pre-existing document for the sake of incorporating fresh material, the relationship of the parts both in general plan and in numerous minute particulars is more easily accounted for. Principal Cave (*Inspiration of the Old Testament*, p. 208) has recently and as I suppose independently offered the suggestion, first made, so far as I am informed, by Rev. Dr. Schaff, that J was Moses; beside which may be placed the conclusion of Delitzsch based on independent grounds that the "Jehovistic-Deuteronomic" style is the best representative of the primitive Mosaic type (*Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, p. 20). Who knows whether the higher criticism itself may not yet lead up to the old traditional view of Moses' authorship?

## II. SECTION 1.—GEN. 1-3.

It is alleged, p. 20,\* that these chapters "contain two distinct accounts of creation" which differ so seriously in their "material," p. 27, in several respects, as to be incapable of being harmonized by any fair method of interpretation. Neither of these statements is correct. Ch. 2:4b-3:24, which is assigned to J, does not contain a second account of the creation additional to that of P 1:1-2:3. There is no lack of agreement between these two passages.

These points must be examined separately.

## 1. No Duplicate Account of the Creation.

1) That ch. 2:4 sqq. is not to be so understood in the intention of the writer is plain from the manner in which it is introduced. It is professedly not an account of the creation, but a sequel to that account. Ch. 2:4a, which is the title of the section that follows, announces as its theme "the generations of the heaven and of the earth, when they were created." This is the first of a series of similar titles to the several sections into which the Book of Genesis is divided. The history is parceled into "the generations of Adam," 5:1; "the generations of Noah," 6:9; "the generations of the sons of Noah," 10:1; "the generations of Shem," 11:10; "the generations of Terah," 11:27, etc., etc., to indicate its genealogical character. The proper frame-work of the history is the line of descent traced regularly from Adam to Jacob and his posterity. This line of descent is arrested from time to time in order to introduce such facts as are to be related, and then proceeds again from the point at which it had arrived. Divergent lines are traced, as occasion arises, to a sufficient distance, and are then dropped, the writer then uniformly reverting to the main line of descent, that of the chosen race, which is his principal theme.

The "generations" of Adam, Noah, etc., mean, as is required by the form of the Hebrew word (דורות), its uniform usage and the contents of the sections so entitled, not the origin or ancestry of Adam, Noah, etc., but their descendants. Accordingly, when for the sake of a more precise correspondence with the titles that are to follow, this term properly belonging to the sphere of human relations is transferred to the material universe in the first title of the series (compare an analogous transfer for a like reason in Luke 3:38), "the generations of the heaven and the earth" must denote not their origin, how they were created or brought into being, but, so to speak, their progeny, that which sprang from them, man the child of heaven and earth, not in any mythical sense, but in the plain and obvious sense of the narrative, his body formed from the dust of the ground, his spirit breathed into him by God himself. It is not an account of the creation of the world that is here announced, but of the formation of man and the first stages of his history upon the earth.

\* All references, not otherwise specified, are to the last number of HEBRAICA.

This evident conclusion is not to be evaded by any critical device. Some would attach 2:4a to the preceding section, 1:1-2:3, as the summary of its contents. But this is impossible for a variety of reasons.

1. It is in violation of the uniform analogy of the whole series of similar titles, which invariably stand at the head, never at the close of the section which they describe.

2. This is confirmed by the identical structure of the immediately following clause here and in 5:1, where the connection is unquestioned. "In the day of Jehovah Elohim's making earth and heaven" follows the title "the generations of the heaven and of the earth" in precise conformity with "in the day of Elohim's creating Adam," after the title "the generations of Adam."

3. If 2:4a is a subscription to the preceding section, then 2:4b-4:26 is the only portion of the book without a title, while 1:1-2:3 will have two titles, one which is entirely appropriate at the beginning, 1:1, and one which is altogether unsuitable at the end.

4. On the divisive hypothesis the additional incongruity results, that when the section ascribed to J (2:4b-ch. 4) is excluded and the connection restored as it originally existed in P, 2:4a will be immediately followed by 5:1, and thus two titles will have stood in direct juxtaposition.

5. As the titles now stand they succeed each other in a perfectly natural order. (1) The creation of heaven and earth in the beginning; (2) the generations of heaven and earth, Adam and his family, the child of both worlds; (3) the generations of Adam traced to Noah and his family; (4) the generations of Noah, and so on.

6. "The generations of the heaven and of the earth" in its proper Hebrew sense does not correspond and cannot by any possibility be made to correspond with the contents of ch. 1, which records the creation of the world instead of giving an account of a being sprung from the world. Dillmann indeed explains it of organized and living things produced upon the earth in the onward progress of creation. But כְּהִנְיָאִם need not mean "while they were in the course of creation;" Hupfeld shows (*Quellen der Genesis*, pp. 110, 111) that it may as well mean "after they were created," Isa. 6:13; 30:14; 53:9. Even in the sense given to it by Dillmann, however, it would not be applicable to the whole, but only to a part of ch. 1. The firmament and the heavenly bodies, the seas and dry land are identical with the heavens and the earth, not their offspring. The creating and shaping the material universe cannot with propriety be included under the "generations" of the heavens and of the earth, and the writer of the chapter could never have expressed its purport in such terms. And even the vegetable and animal products, which by creative fiat were made to issue from the earth, were wholly of an earthly, not a heavenly, mold. It is not until v. 26 that the creation of man is reached. To the great body of the chapter its alleged subscription is

manifestly inappropriate, and man himself in ch. 1 is considered simply in his place in the general scheme of created things. He is introduced into the world; but there is no record of what befell him or his family, such as we are authorized to expect, such as is in fact given in 2:4b-4:26. Every similar title in Genesis is followed either by a history of the immediate offspring or by successive generations of descendants.

The inappropriateness of 2:4a as a title to ch. 1, which has just been exhibited, is equally valid against the critical suggestion, affirmed (p. 19) without proof or explanation, as though it were the most natural thing in the world, that it originally stood before 1:1 or in its place, but was removed to its present position by the Redactor. No writer, who understood the meaning of its terms, could ever have placed it there. Certainly not the writer who uses it so appropriately everywhere else in Genesis. Or if it was a suitable title for Gen. 1, what possible motive could a sensible Redactor have had for transposing it?

It follows from what has been said that, in the view of the author of 2:4a, and of the author of the Book of Genesis as at present constituted (whether these are the same or different persons), the section which the critics assign to J is not a repetition of that of P, but a sequel to it.

2) That this is really the relation of these two passages will further appear from an examination of their respective contents. Ch. 2 is not a second account of the creation which had already been described in ch. 1. The making of earth and heaven is not narrated but presupposed, 2:4b. No account is given of their formation. No mention is made of the sea and its occupants; none of the sun, moon and stars; none of covering the earth with its varied vegetation; but only of planting a garden in Eden and making its trees grow from the ground, vs. 8,9. When banished from Eden man was to eat "the herb of the field," 3:18, whose existence is thus assumed, but whose production is only spoken of in ch. 1. These particulars could not be omitted from an account of the creation. To say (as Dill.) that they may originally have been contained in ch. 2, but were omitted by R because they were treated sufficiently in ch. 1, is to make an assumption without a particle of evidence, which amounts simply to a confession that ch. 2 is not what it would have been, if the writer had intended to give a narrative of the creation, and that its omissions are with definite reference to the contents of ch. 1.

3) Ch. 2 is evidently throughout preliminary to ch. 3, the narrative of the fall. In order to make this intelligible it was necessary to explain, 1) the two constituents of man's nature, already intimated in the title to the section, which must be known to comprehend the form of the sentence pronounced upon him that dust must return to dust, v. 7, cf. 3:19; 2) the locality, the garden of Eden with its tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, vs. 8-17; 3) the actors, Adam and Eve, and their relation to each other, vs. 18-25. These particulars could not have been incorporated in ch. 1 without marring its symmetry.

That deals with the creation of the world at large. Everything is on a universal scale. And to introduce a detailed description of the garden of Eden, with its arrangements and man's position in it, would be quite inappropriate. The plan and purpose of ch. 1 made it necessary to reserve this for the following section, and it is accordingly given in ch. 2.

### 2. No Discrepancies.

There is no inconsistency between ch. 2 and ch. 1, as the critics pretend. In order to reach the description of the garden of Eden, the writer reminds his readers in precise conformity with ch. 1 that when earth and heaven were first made the former contained nothing for the subsistence of man. There was neither bush nor herb to serve him for food, 2:5. The threefold classification of 1:11,12, grass, herb and tree, is not repeated here, for grass was the food of beasts and not to his purpose. Bush שִׁיחַ is used rather than tree עֵץ, to make the negative stronger. There was not only no tree; there was not even a bush. Subsequently trees, 2:9, as well as herbs, 3:18, are named as the plants yielding food for human use.

The reason given for the absence of food-bearing plants is twofold; there was no rain to moisten the earth and no man to till the ground.\* There is no variance here with ch. 1. The suggestion that if the land had just emerged from the water, rain would not be needed, leaves out of view that according to 1:9,10 the separation of the terrene and the aqueous elements was complete, and the earth was dry land, יַבֵּשָׁה, before any plants appeared upon its surface. A well-watered garden with ever-flowing streams was to be the abode of man; and in anticipation of it, it was natural to refer to the need of rain. And there is no implication that man was made prior to the existence of vegetation, contrary to 1:12,27. For

1. Ch. 2 alleges nothing respecting the relative priority of man or plants. It does not deal with the general vegetation of the globe any further than to carry us back to a time when it did not exist. Of its actual production ch. 2 says nothing. Its positive statement is restricted to the trees of the garden of Eden, vs. 8,9. And we are nowhere informed that these were brought into being at the same time with "the herb of the field," 3:18, or "the grass," דִּשָּׁא. Nothing is said of the origin of grass and herbs or of trees outside of Eden except in ch. 1.

2. The existence of man is stated to be a condition of that of plants designed for human use, not as an antecedent but as a concomitant. His tillage is requisite, 2:5, not to their original production, but to their subsequent care and culti-

\* My friend, Dr. C. M. Mead, in a casual conversation on this subject, suggested what, if my memory serves me, was also maintained by Ebrard in a little tract on *Natural Science and the Bible* issued several years since, that the last clause of 2:5 is not connected with that which immediately precedes. "There was no plant (for there had been no rain) and there was no man." The critical objection is thus set aside entirely in a very simple manner.

vation. Jehovah planted the garden and made the trees grow in it, and then set man to till it (עֲבַד v. 15 as v. 5).

3. The order of statement is plainly not that of time but of association in thought (see Driver's Hebrew Tenses, §§ 75,76; my Hebrew Grammar, § 276. d.; Prof. Harper's Hebrew Syntax, § 24. 2). V. 7, man is formed; v. 8, the garden planted and man put in it; v. 9, trees are made to spring up there; v. 15, man is taken and put in it. We cannot suppose (as Dillmann admits) the writer's meaning to be that man was made before there was any place in which to put him, and that he was kept in suspense until the garden was planted; that he was then put there before the trees, that were to supply him with food, had sprung up; and that after the trees were in readiness he was put there a second time. It is easy to deduce the most preposterous consequences from a writer's words by imputing to them a sense which he never intended. In order to pave the way for an account of the primitive paradise, he had spoken of the earth as originally destitute of any plants on which man might subsist, the existence of such plants being conditioned on that of man himself, 2:5. This naturally leads him to speak first of the formation of man, v. 7, then of the garden, in which he was put, v. 8. A more particular description of the garden is then given, vs. 9-14, and the narrative is again resumed by repeating that man was placed there, v. 15.\* As there was plainly no intention to note the strict chronological succession of events, it cannot in fairness be inferred from the order of the narrative that man was made prior to the trees and plants of Eden, much less that he preceded those of the world at large, of which nothing is here said.

Nor does ch. 2 contradict ch. 1 in respect to the order of the creation of man and of the lower animals. The allegation that it does rests upon the assumption that Waw Consecutive future necessarily implies a sequence in the order of time, which, as we have already seen, is not correct. The record is (v. 19), "And out of the ground Jehovah Elohim formed all the beasts of the field and all the fowls of heaven and brought them to Adam." According to Hebrew usage this need not mean that the birds and beasts were then first formed with the view of providing a suitable companion for Adam. And when the scope of the passage is duly considered it will be seen that this cannot be its meaning.

It is a significant fact that Dr. Delitzsch, who is an adherent of the document hypothesis and can be suspected of no bias against it, and who in all the former editions of his Commentary on Genesis found ch. 1 and ch. 2 at variance on this point, in the last edition, embodying his most matured views, affirms that there is no discrepancy whatever, that "*et formavit...et adduxit = et cum formasset*

\* The critics' assumption that vs. 10-15 (p. 20) or vs. 8b,10-14 (Dill.) is an interpolation, inasmuch as the description of the garden is a departure from strict narrative, which is afterwards resumed, as well as Budde's notion that the tree of life is to be erased from v. 9 and elsewhere as not belonging to the narrative originally, deserve notice only as illustrating the perfectly arbitrary standard of genuineness which is set up.

*adduxit*," and that this is both "possible in point of style and consonant to the mode of writing in the Bible history." Dr. Dillmann admits that the tense here used might antedate what immediately precedes, but insists that v. 18, "I will make him an help meet for him," implies that the animals were now made as well as brought to Adam. But to suppose that the beasts and birds were made in execution of this divine purpose is not only a grotesque conception in itself, but involves the incongruity that the Lord's first attempts were failures. If there are critics who account this "the natural interpretation" (p. 31) it is in the face of the whole Israelitish conception of Jehovah, as expressed in J and everywhere else. The beasts were brought to Adam not as the companion intended for him, but "to see what he would call them," i. e. to let them make their impression on him and thus awaken in his mind a sense both of his need of companionship and of their unfitness for the purpose. When this had been accomplished, Eve was made. The animals are here regarded simply with a view to this end. If the writer were describing the creation of the inferior animals as such, he would speak of all the orders of living things, not neglecting reptiles and aquatic animals. The principal thought is the Lord's bringing the beasts and birds to Adam; his making them is only referred to as subsidiary to this, with no intention of affirming anything as to the time when they were made.

Dr. Driver (Heb. Tenses, p. 106) finds it "difficult to believe that in the midst of a continuous piece of narrative, such as Gen. 2:19," the Waw Consec. future can be used where a pluperfect would have been in place. It is a familiar fact that Hebrew construction frequently coördinates what in occidental languages would preferably or even necessarily be subordinated. Thus, Gen. 44:22, "the lad cannot leave his father and he will leave his father and he will die," meaning "if he leave his father, the latter will die." Now when the stress lies upon the second of two verbs connected by Waw Consec. future, the sequence in time may be altogether in the second or principal verb and not in that which is in thought subordinate to it. Thus vs. 7,8, "he formed man...and planted a garden... and placed man there" is equivalent to "placed man in the garden which he had planted." Ex. 4:31, "The people believed and heard...and worshiped," i. e. and having heard they worshiped; of course hearing preceded believing. Deut. 31:9, "And Moses wrote this law and delivered it," i. e. he delivered the law which he had written; the delivery of the law was subsequent to the address to Joshua, vs. 7,8, but not the writing of it. In accordance with these analogies\* 2:19 may be

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\* Numerous other examples of a like construction might be adduced, e. g. Gen. 18:2, "and he saw three men...and he saw and ran," i. e. when he saw, he ran. Gen. 24:65, Rebekah spoke to the servant before alighting from the camel. Josh. 2:22,23, "And they abode till the pursuers returned, and the pursuers sought them...and the two men returned," i. e. after the pursuers had vainly sought them the men returned. 1 Sam. 15:17,18, the anointing antedates the previous clause, however it be read. 1 Sam. 28:4, Saul could not have postponed the gathering of his army until the Philistines were encamped in Shunem. 1 Kgs. 13:12,13, "And his sons saw...and

equivalent to "the Lord brought the beasts which he had formed." And this construction seems to be demanded by the following considerations: 1) Throughout the chapter the order of thought is regarded rather than that of time; 2) the limited form of statement does not suit a general creation of the lower animals, but is shaped by the particular end in view; 3) the utterly unbiblical notion of God involved makes it incredible and impossible that the beasts were made with the design expressed in v. 18. The alleged discrepancy accordingly vanishes entirely.

Thus far the way is perfectly clear. The alleged inconsistencies do not exist in the record, but are of the critics' own making. It is surprising that they do not see that in their eagerness to create discrepancies in evidence of a diversity of writers they are cutting away the ground beneath their own feet. Glaring discrepancies might consist with the fragmentary but not with the documentary hypothesis. The manner in which these documents are supposed to be woven together, demands a high degree of skill and intelligence in the Redactor; and to allege at the same time, p. 70, that he "did not have insight sufficient to enable him to see that he was all the time committing grave blunders" is self-contradictory. Arguments that prove too much are as fatal to a hypothesis as arguments that prove too little.

### 3. The Critical Partition.

We are now to enter a more perplexed and difficult region, where the criteria are of a less tangible and decisive character. I do not wish here to be regarded as the advocate of any particular view, but simply as a seeker after truth, ready to accept whatever shall approve itself as in accordance with the facts of the case. We shall endeavor to feel our way gradually along, inquiring what the facts are and then what is their proper interpretation. Many of the critical arguments are manifestly unsound and irrelevant. They require to be carefully sifted, if that which may be really significant is to be distinguished from that which is not. In evidence of separate authorship, p. 21, arguments are drawn from "the language, the style, the material and the theology." The material of this section has already been to some extent considered; we now proceed to the language.

#### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Thirty words or expressions in 1:1-2:4 are alleged to be characteristic of P; but a slight examination is sufficient to show that they have not the weight which the critics attach to them

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he said," i. e. his sons having seen... he said. Isa. 37:5,6, "And they came to Isaiah" (they had already delivered their message to him, vs. 3,4) "and he said to them," i. e. they having come he said. Isa. 39:1, he heard before he sent; Dr. Driver suspects an error in the text because the form of expression differs from 2 Kgs. 20:12; but may it not be only another mode of saying the same thing? Jon. 2:4 (the Hebrew enumeration is adopted where this differs from the A. V.) goes back of v. 3, and is amplified in what follows, not reaching the point of time in v. 3 until v. 8. Zech. 7:2 goes back of v. 1, which is only reached again in v. 4. For examples of like construction with Waw Consec. preterite, see Ps. 7:15; Ezek. 17:15.

1. It is easy to produce such lists of any length, where they are plainly unmeaning. Any two opposite pages of a work by any author might be scrutinized, and the words and expressions in each which do not chance to occur in the other noted as characteristic of different writers and used as a basis for the division of the rest of the work, all paragraphs, sentences and clauses being assigned to one or to the other as they happen to correspond to the first or to the second of these pages. Knobel, besides giving full details of the peculiar style, conceptions and aims of the *Rechtsbuch* and *Kriegsbuch*, draws out a list on successive pages of about 100 words and expressions characteristic of each and not occurring in any other document of the Hexateuch, and yet no subsequent critic has accepted his analysis and no one believes that those imaginary sources ever existed. "What would be thought of an attempt to prove the *Ars Poetica* spurious, on the ground that the words *exlex, sesquipedalia, cotis, liturá, quincunce* and the phrases *purpureus pannus, lucidus ordo, callida junctura, norma loquendi, in medias res, incredulus odi, sagax rerum, vivas voces, ore rotundo, decies repetita, laudator temporis acti*, the simile of the mountain and the mouse, and the proverbial saying *occupet extremum scabies*, occur nowhere else in the writings of Horace?"\*

2. The thirty words in question are swept together as with a drag-net, without discrimination. Hapaxlegomena and words of rare occurrence, which of course give no indication of a writer's habitual diction, are joined with the rest. The frequency with which a word occurs in one document or the fact of its absence from another is mechanically noted, without regard to the question whether there was occasion to use it. The use of synonyms in different sections is urged, but no inquiry made whether this is explicable on other grounds than the varying habits of distinct writers. This apparent reliance upon bulk rather than weight, upon multiplying examples without showing that any of them are really pertinent, awakens the suspicion that this may be but a great heap of chaff with very little wheat.

3. The distribution of these words in the Pentateuch is very remarkable and significant. It is such as to show in a glance to any one who is without a theory to support, that whatever they may or may not prove, they certainly do not favor the document hypothesis. These words, in so far as they recur again in a P section of Genesis, do so only in the account of the flood, and are then found again in the Pentateuch, for the most part, only in the legislation. When they do appear elsewhere in Genesis it is never in a P but always in a J section. Their restriction in Genesis to the narratives of the creation and of the flood might be explained in one or other of two ways. It would seem natural to trace it to common features in the subjects treated; the deluge was in a sense the undoing of

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\* J. A. Alexander, *The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. xxxi. The examples given of words peculiar to the *Ars Poetica* are of course merely specimens; if it were worth while, the number might be indefinitely increased.

the work of creation, and like expressions might appropriately be employed in describing them both. Or if with the critics, it be imputed to sameness in the choice of words by the common author of both, then upon their method of reasoning it must necessarily follow from the uniform exclusion of all these words from the remaining P sections of Genesis, that the accounts of the creation and of the flood are from a source quite distinct from the rest of the book. And when it is found that several of these same words recur again with considerable frequency in the legislation of the three middle books of the Pentateuch, it might perhaps be inferred that the author of that law (tradition calls him Moses) was in possession of a written history of the creation and deluge; and that in framing his own narrative of those events he adopted its expressions as far as he found it convenient to do so, and that he also borrowed its terms as he had occasion in formulating his laws. Whether there is sufficient warrant for such a conjecture is another matter. But it would at least harmonize with the facts as already stated, which is more than can be said of the ordinary form of the document hypothesis.

In the following classification of the words alleged as characteristic of P they are numbered as on p. 22, for the sake of reader reference. Of course those that occur only in this one passage, as well as those which are also found in passages assigned to J or E, should in fairness be stricken from the list. There is no propriety on any hypothesis in considering them peculiar to P.

a. Occurring nowhere in the Pentateuch but in Gen. 1:1-2:4.

(4) תהו (also Deut. 32:10 J, בהו, (7) רקיע (9) דשא (also Deut. 32:2 J); (20) רמות (also Gen. 5:1,3 quoted from 1:26).

b. Nowhere else in Genesis.

(14) תנינם (in Pent. only Ex. 7:9,10,12 P; Deut. 32:33 J); (24) כבש .

c. In creation and flood.

(2) ברא (Gen. 5:1,2 from 1:27; 6:7 J; Ex. 34:10 (E?); Num. 16:30); (5) תהום (Gen. 49:25 J; Ex. 15:5,8 E; Deut. 33:13 E); (16) פרו ורבו ומלאו (16) פרה ורבה with or without other words of like meaning is found several times elsewhere in P); (17) חית הארץ .

d. In creation and ritual law.

(1) ראשית\* (in J Gen. 10:10; 49:3; Ex. 34:26; in E Ex. 23:19; nowhere in Pent. but Gen. 1:1 with prep. ב); (6) הכריל (implies inner distinction and so not the equivalent of פיר, which denotes merely outward separation and

is used by P Gen. 10:5,32; 13:11 as well as J); (9) מקוה; (11) מארת (19) ררה (in J Num. 24:19); (26) צבא (in J Gen. 21:32; 26:26; Num. 32:27; E Gen. 21:22); (28) מלאכה (J Gen. 33:14; 39:11); (29) קרש (in JE Ex. 19:10,14,22,23; 20:8; Josh. 3:5).

e. In creation, flood and ritual law.

(10) הרמשת (13) מין שרץ verb and noun; (15) הרמשת (J Gen. 7:8) רמש noun only in creation and flood in Pent. (in J Gen. 7:23); (18) צלם (Gen. 5:3 from 1:27); (21) זכר (also in Gen. 17 and 34 connected with circumcision); (22) ונקבה (23) ונקבה (25) אכלה (P also uses אכל noun Ex. 12:4; 16:16,18,21 and עמאל Gen. 6:21 which verse plainly shows that it is not the equivalent of אכלה and substituted for it by J and E); (27) שבת verb (J Ex. 5:5; 16:30; 34:21; Deut. 32:26; E Ex. 23:12).

The above list contains all the words pronounced characteristic of P except (3) אלהים which is reserved for future consideration;

\* As to the suggestion that J and E use בתחלה instead of בראשית, it is to be said that they never have occasion to speak of the absolute beginning of all things, which is here referred to, they only need a phrase meaning *at first*. They both use ראשית as well as תחלה, and P would have done the same had there been occasion for it, just as both words are found in other O. T. writings, e. g. Ecclesiastes (7:8; 10:13) and Hosea (1:2; 9:10).

(12) ייתן in a "loose and general sense instead of שום or שית," which is found as well in J Gen. 15:10; 18:8; 30:40; 39:4,8,20; 41:41, and in E, Gen. 40:8,13; 41:10,42,48; and (30) תולדת, which is so far from lending any support to the hypothesis, that it can only be classed as belonging to P, on the prior assumption of the truth of the hypothesis. It is assigned to P, not by reason of its environment, but notwithstanding the fact that it is here the title of a J section to which it is assumed that it has been transferred from a former imaginary position at the beginning of ch. 1, for which it is not suitable and where it

could never have stood. Again in 37:2 it introduces a section composed of alternate paragraphs of J and E, in which there is not a single sentence from P until 41:46, and then not another till 46:6. Still further, in 11:27 and 25:19 it is followed by long passages from J with scarcely anything from P. The natural inference of one who had no preconceived theory in the case, would be that these titles prefixed alike to J and to P sections were either suggestive of their common authorship or at least that they proceeded from him to whom Genesis owes its present form, be he author or compiler.

If the total absence of all these words from any P sections in Genesis except those of the creation and flood does not disprove unity of authorship, how does an absence not quite so absolute from J sections indicate diversity of authorship? Or what cogency is there in a method of argument which does not work both ways, which is held to be conclusive whenever it makes in favor of the hypothesis, but is quietly disregarded whenever it makes against it?

It may be safely said that the diction of 1:1-2:4 gives no aid or comfort to the hypothesis: how is it with that of J in 2:4-3:24?

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

Forty words and expressions are adduced as characteristic of J in this section; and they are held to be significant, p. 21, since "they occur in what purports to be a treatment of the same subject." It has already been shown that this is an error. The subject is not and does not purport to be the same. It is distinctly announced both in the title, 2:4a, and in the opening words, v. 4b, that what follows is not a fresh account of the creation, but its sequel, viz. the first stage of human history transacted upon the scene already prepared for it. Ch. 3 is a narrative of the fall and in no sense parallel to ch. 1, and ch. 2 is purely preliminary to ch. 3.

In fact it is as inconsistent with the hypothesis of the critics as with that of unity of authorship to find here two divergent stories of the creation. The Redactor does not place them side by side as two varying accounts, which he makes no attempt to reconcile, but lays before his readers precisely as he found them. There is no intimation that they are alternatives, one or the other of which may be accepted at pleasure. On the contrary ch. 1 and ch. 2 are recorded as equally true, mutually supplementary and to be credited alike. Inconsistency apart, however, it is supposable that a compiler might place side by side related statements drawn from distinct sources, when a single writer would have wrought the whole into one continuous statement, thus avoiding needless repetition. It is a fair question, therefore, why the facts in ch. 2 concerning the creation of man

and his location in Eden were not included in ch. 1, and thus the necessity obviated of recurring to a matter already partially treated. The reason is not far to seek. Ch. 1 deals with the creation of the world as a whole. The scale upon which it is wrought is that of heaven, earth and sea. Man is introduced simply as the crowning apex of the vast pyramid of created things. The details of ch. 2 would here have been quite out of place and have marred the symmetry and grandeur of the entire description. They were hence reserved for a more appropriate place, and this is in accordance with the method of the writer elsewhere. Each of the ten books of generations, p. 19, into which Genesis is divided, is in a manner complete in itself, though this may require a return to what has been already stated in a different connection. Cf. 4:25,26 with 5:1-6; 5:32 and 6:5-8 with 6:9-13; 10:22-25 with 11:10-16; 11:26 with v. 27; 25:12 with 16:1 sqq. etc., etc.

While the theme of ch. 2 is not identical with that of ch. 1, matters previously treated are to a certain extent brought under review again, though with a different design and under a different aspect. Now the critics allege that J differs from P in the terms applied to the same acts and objects, thereby showing that it is by a different writer. We shall examine the cases adduced, retaining the numbers of pp. 23,24 for easier reference.

(1) עֵשָׂה for which P is said to use כְּרָא. But עֵשָׂה is used ten times in ch. 1, and of the same things as כְּרָא. Cf. 1:1 with vs. 7,8; 1:26 with v. 27; 1:21 with v. 25.

(2) The divine names will be considered hereafter.

(3) חֵיט הַשָּׂדֶה, עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה, 2:5; (17) חֵיט הַשָּׂדֶה 2:19,20. שִׁיחַ bush instead of עֵץ tree, as 1:11,12, has been explained already, and J has עֵץ 2:9 sqq.; שִׁיחַ besides in the entire Hexateuch only Gen. 21:15 E. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is not found in P. But why has J bush of the *field*, herb of the *field*, beast of the *field*, while P has beast of the *earth*, 1:24,25,30 and so 9:2,10? The open field is in tacit contrast with the enclosed and cultivated garden, see 3:18. "Beast of the field" is the ordinary phrase throughout the Bible. But terrestrial in contrast with aquatic animals, 1:21,22, and when the whole broad earth is spoken of, are naturally called beasts of the earth or land, cf. 1:29; Ex. 10:12,15 E.

(5) צֹמֶה 2:5 J, for which P is said to use תּוֹצֵא 1:12; but P has צֹמֶה Lev. 18:37, and J has it but once outside of the present narrative, Ex. 10:5; Gen. 41:6,23 belongs to E, a distinct writer.

(7) הָאָרֶץ 2:5 J, while P has הָאָרֶץ. But

these are not precise equivalents, as is shown by their discriminating use, 2:5; 4:12,14. When tillage is spoken of or productive soil, אֲדָמָה is the proper word and it so occurs 30 times. As P never mentions this, he has no occasion for the word in that sense. אֲדָמָה is also earth as a material, Gen. 2:7,19; 3:19; Ex. 20:24, of which P does not chance to speak. The surface of the ground is expressed by either term both by P and J. Thus אֲדָמָה with רֶכֶשׁ (noun or verb) P Gen. 1:25; 6:20; 9:2; J Gen. 7:8; Lev. 20:25. אֲדָמָה על פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ Gen. 8:8 J, but על פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ v. 9; also Gen. 7:3; 11:4,8,9 J as well as Gen. 1:29 P; and but for the sharp critical practice which does not hesitate to sunder a clause from the midst of its paragraph, 8:13, with its אֲדָמָה פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ would be assigned to P. The only thing at all peculiar is that while both P and J in numberless instances use אָרֶץ for the land of Canaan, אֲדָמָה is so used five times, four of which are referred to J, Gen. 28:15; Lev. 20:24; Num. 11:12; 32:11, and one to E, Ex. 20:12; and it is twice used by J for the whole earth כל משפחות הארמה Gen. 12:3; 28:14, while the parallels נוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ Gen. 18:18; 22:18; 26:4, though in a J connection are each time referred to R.

(8) *יצר* form J is not, as alleged, the equivalent of *ברא* create P. The latter emphasizes the immediate divine act, the former is suggestive of the material employed. In Isa. 43:1; 45:7,12,18 *ברא* *יצר* and *עשה* are used together and in the same sentence of God's almighty creative work. *יצר* form is not inconsistent with the creative *fiat* (p. 30), Isa. 44:24,26-28. All that is said about "laboriously gathering materials, moistening the clay and shaping it by personal manipulation" belongs to the interpreter, not to the sacred record. The earth was moistened for the growth of plants, 2:5,6, not with a view to the formation of man. *יצר* occurs nowhere in the Hexateuch except in this chapter; in the only other instance in which J alludes to the creation of man, he uses *ברא* Gen. 6:7. And if the absence of *יצר* from the rest of J has no significance, why is there any in its absence from P? A noun derived from this root occurs twice in J, Gen. 6:5; 8:21, both times in the narrative of the flood. If any meaning is attached to this, it can only be to link the accounts of the creation and the deluge together, as before hinted, and to sever them from the rest of Genesis.

(11) *נשמת חיים* J, while P is said to use *רוח חיים* (twice, viz., Gen. 6:17; 7:15), and *רוח* of the Spirit of God, 1:2. But *רוח* also in J, Gen. 6:3; Num. 11:29. *נשמה* occurs in all six times in the Pentateuch, four times in D and twice only in J, once without *רוח* Gen. 2:7, and once with it, 7:22, where the critics say that *רוח* is an interpolation by R, for no other reason than that it does not suit the hypothesis.

(12) *שגם* J, which P also uses Gen. 6:16 and often elsewhere; as to the allegation that P does and J does not use *נתן* in this sense see No. 12, language of P.

(13) *הארם*; (37) *לארם* common noun in J, proper noun in P. But J uses *ארם* as a proper noun 4:25 and P as a common noun, 1:26,27; 5:2. If the argument proves anything, it proves that 5:2 is by a different writer from vs. 3-5.

(22) *נחש* 3:1 J; "P uses *תנין*." But the words are not equivalents. *תנין* means *extended*, and is applied to creatures of unusual length, marine animals, Gen. 1:21, as well as serpents Ex. 7:9,10,12. The application of a generic term in one passage and of a specific term in another

to the same thing, does not argue diversity of writers, unless a man who has once spoken of a snake cannot vary his expression and call it a reptile.

These are all the words in which the language of ch. 2 is contrasted with that of ch. 1; and every variation is readily explained by the connection and by the shade of meaning to be expressed.

There are two other words and two grammatical constructions in which the language of ch. 2, 3 is contrasted with that of P elsewhere.

(19) *סנר* 2:21 J for which P's equivalent is said to be *סכר*; but this latter only occurs once in the entire Hexateuch, Gen. 8:2; and P uses *סנר* Ex. 14:3.

(36) *הריבה ארבה* 3:16 J but twice beside in Hex., J 16:10, and R 22:17, who, according to Dillmann, has made a free addition of his own. In Ex. 32:13 J *ארבה* is without the infinitive, though based upon Gen. 22:17. How J could quote R, who by the hypothesis was subsequent to his time, it is not for me to say. But if J uses this combination in two places, and failed to employ it when there was such an obvious reason for his doing so, what is there surprising in its absence from P, who, moreover, does use the infin. abs. with the finite verb in other cases, e. g. Ex. 31:14,15; Lev. 7:24; 10:18.

(38) *שמע לקול* 3:17 occurs in but two passages besides in J, Gen. 16:2; Ex. 4:8,9. Ex. 3:18; 15:26; 18:24 belong to E. Commonly *שמע* has a different construction in J as it has in P.

(41) *נרש* in P only in Qal, it is said, while in J it is mostly in Piel. J has the Piel twice in Genesis, 3:24; 4:14, and three times in the rest of the Hexateuch, Ex. 2:17; 6:1; Num. 22:11, and the Qal once, Ex. 34:11, whereas in P it is the participle that is used. The Piel and Pual participles nowhere occur, their place being apparently supplied as in some other verbs by Qal forms. Moreover, as the tense-forms in Piel differ from those of Qal in the vowels only, how could J have written differently, if he meant to use the Qal in every case, unless he had the Massoretic points at his command?

These expressions are of so infrequent occurrence in J itself, that their not changing

to be found in P warrants no inference of diversity of authorship.

In the remaining instances adduced it is not pretended that P and J express the same thought by means of different words or constructions, but simply that certain words or forms occur in J which are either not found at all or not with the same frequency in P. These are entirely irrelevant, and are so admitted to be, p. 24, unless two things are first shown, viz.:

1. That they are wanting in P for some other reason than simply that he has no occasion to use them. If J does and P does not say (6) טטר *rain*; (10) אפֿים *nose*; אף *anger*; (14) תכר *desire* and (33) עקב *heel*, what of it? Are we to infer that P did not know the names of the members of the body, or the words expressive of ordinary emotions or of familiar objects? If he wished to say "nose" or "heel," what else could he call them?

2. That their apparent absence from P is not itself due to the critics' having systematically shaped the sections which they assign to P so as to exclude them. If the documents P and J existed in a separate state, their respective diction could with some confidence be compared. But when the separation is first made by the critics themselves at their own pleasure, and the criterion of division is the assumed diction of each, the result corresponds with the hypothesis for the simple reason that it was fixed by the hypothesis. How can it be expected that a given word will be found in P, when its presence in any passage or clause is held to be decisive proof that the latter does not belong to P?

As no attempt is made to establish either of these points in respect to the rest of the words adduced as characteristic of J, there is absolutely nothing in them that calls for a reply. And there would not be, if the list were ten times as long. Arguments that prove nothing become no more cogent by being multiplied; unless the intention be to create the impression that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire. Identity of authorship is neither proved nor disproved by summing up the words in different paragraphs and estimating the proportion of those that are the same or that are unlike.

But besides this fatal defect in the argument, several of these words are of no force for the purpose for which they are adduced for the further reason that they are of rare occurrence and hence afford no indication of a writer's habitual diction.

Thus (9) נפח Gen. 2:7, (18) בנה spoken of God, 2:22, (23) ערים 3:1, are found nowhere else in the Hexateuch. The noun עיר (15) occurs nowhere in J except in 2:18,20, and the corresponding verb only occurs in J twice, Gen. 49:25; Deut. 32:33. The combination (6) כננר 2:18,20 is found nowhere else in the Bible, and ננר itself but twice besides in J in Genesis, 23:12; 47:15. The verb פקח (25) occurs nowhere in J but in Gen. 3:5,7; an adjective derived from it is found once in J Ex. 4:11 and but once besides in the Bible. (26) שכל 3:6 occurs but once besides in J, Gen. 48:14. (27) חבא Gen. 3:8,10 occurs again in an E context, where Dillmann thinks it was "probably an insertion from J," and six times in Joshua, where it is in each case uncertain whether it belongs to J or not. (34) The noun עצב 3:16 occurs nowhere else in the Hexateuch; עעבון 3:16,17, but once besides in the Bible, 5:29, with direct allusion to the former passage. The verb עעב occurs in the Hexateuch three times, Gen. 6:6 J; 34:7, which is sandwiched between two verses of P and is itself a curious critical conglomerate, having a phrase of D and another of E, but all assigned to J on account of עעב and חרה; and finally 45:5, which is in an E connection; but both verbs occur again and without regard to strict consistency with the former decision a compromise is effected and one is assigned to J, the other to E. (35) The noun הרון 3:16 is found nowhere else in the Bible. The cognate verb הרה is in Gen. 21:2 referred to P by Dillmann; but Kautzsch and Socin cut out the clause and assign it to J avowedly on the ground that it always belongs to either J or E.

The only words in the whole list that have any show of plausibility are the particles, viz. (4) טרם; (20) הפעים; (21) על כן; (24) פן; (28) או; (29) לבלתי; (30) זאת; (39) כה; (40) בעבור. Such words of relation are not so directly determined by the subject treated and hence might seem to betray more the writer's style of thought. But even here

the bare fact of their occurrence or non-occurrence in certain paragraphs is not of itself an available argument. It must first be shown that they occur in one and not in the other, where there was equal occasion for employing them, and that the paragraphs have not been adjusted with the view of including or excluding them according to a preconceived hypothesis. The reasonableness of this demand may be illustrated by a few examples. **טָרַם** occurs but once in J in Genesis (2:5), and **כָּטַרַם** but once in J in Genesis (45:28), unless Dillmann is

right as against Wellhausen in assigning 27:18b to him; and yet Dillmann in 27:4,33 makes **כָּטַרַם** a mark of E in distinction from J. Gen. 30:20b in an E connection is attributed to J simply because **הַפְעֵם** must always belong to him. Knobel and Nöldeke were inconsiderate enough to allow Ex. 15:23 with its **עַל כֵּן** to P, but other critics have since come to the rescue and taken it from him. Nöldeke also gave Lev. 20:4; Num. 9:7 to P; but the presence of **לְכַלְתִּי** in these verses has determined later critics to assign them differently.

How much weight critics themselves attach to the arguments thus far reviewed, even when fortified by the additional considerations drawn from the style and the theology of these opening sections, appears from the statement, p. 24, "The first chapter of Genesis is supposed by most critics not to be original with P, but to have been incorporated by him in his work from some outside source. If this is true, it should not be cited as a specimen of P's style." It is added immediately after, "Ch. 2:4b-3:25, on the other hand, is an excellent specimen of J." But the venerable Dr. Reuss, the father of the present reigning school of criticism, is of a different mind. He declares positively,\* "The Jehovist did not write chs. 2,3," and expresses grave doubts about the ascription to him of any of the passages attributed to him in Gen. chs. 1-11, adding that the old supplementary hypothesis can scarcely be escaped in dealing with some of these passages. Wellhausen†, too, the acknowledged leader of the school, has reached the same conclusion in respect to Gen. chs. 2, 3 on different grounds, contending that it was not written by the J of the rest of Genesis or of the Hexateuch generally. When the critics are thus at variance, who is to decide between them? and what is to be thought of the arguments from diction, style and theology, as tests of authorship, which eminent scholars can thus unceremoniously set aside as inconclusive? So that, after toiling through these alleged marks of P in ch. 1, and of J in chs. 2,3, we are told at last, on high authority, that P did not write the one nor J the other, and that all the supposed criteria are meaningless.

Before leaving the diction of these chapters, attention should be drawn to some indications that they are not, as has been claimed, from separate and independent documents. It is generally conceded that the use of **יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים** throughout chs. 2,3, is a tacit reference to ch. 1. This combination of divine names occurs nowhere else with such regularity and frequency, though it is found sporadically in other passages, e. g. Ex. 9:30; 2 Sam. 7:22,25; 1 Chron. 17:16,17; Jon. 4:6. This both relieves it from the charge of being "an un-Hebraic expression," p. 23, and sets aside Hupfeld's notion that it is adopted here without refer-

\* *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, p. 255 sqq.

† *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 13.

ence to ch. 1 as peculiarly appropriate to the state of paradise, from which there is a descent to Jehovah alone after the fall, just as P is supposed to rise from Elohim in the patriarchal period to Jehovah in the days of Moses. The union of the names is intended to suggest that Jehovah now first introduced is identical with Elohim before spoken of in ch. 1. It is employed with evident allusion to the contents of ch. 1, and it pervades chs. 2,3. The critics say that Elohim was here introduced by R, though he is ordinarily chary of meddling with the divine names. But this must be viewed in connection with various other indications which enter into the tissue of these passages and are not so easily disposed of.

Note, for example, such facts as the following: If the construction of כְּרֵאשִׁית 1:1 adopted by Dillmann and favored p. 22 is correct, there is a remarkable similarity in structure, the more striking because it is unusual in Hebrew style, between P 1:1-3 and J 2:4b-7; a noun with כ in construction before the following verb begins the sentence, a circumstantial clause of some length is then introduced, and the principal sentence is continued by a future with a Waw Consec. J 2:4b strikingly resembles P 5:1b in the form of expression; so do 1:4a P and 6:2a J; 1:31a, 6:12a P, 8:13b J. אָרֶץ without the article 1:24 P as

2:4 J. The paronomasia תָּהוּ וַיְכַהֵן 1:2; פָּרוּ וַיִּרְכּוּ 1:22,28 P recalls in J אָדָם... אָדָם 2:7; עֵפֶר וְאֶפֶר 4:14; נֶעַם וְנֶגַע 4:14; אִשׁ... אִשָּׁה verse 23; 18:27. The first pers. plur. used of God, 1:25 P, notwithstanding the strictness of Hebrew monotheism has its counterpart in J 3:22; 11:7. 2:4b J is an explicit allusion to the preceding account of the formation of the universe, as 5:1b is to that of the creation of man. The use of עָשָׂה made 3:1 J in reference to the beasts instead of עָצַר formed as 2:19 J, is a reminiscence of 1:25 P. כְּרִיבִים cherubim 3:24 J occurs in the Pentateuch besides only in P.

In addition to verbal coincidences and allusions, the distribution of the matter between these two sections gives evidence of pre-arrangement and cannot be purely accidental. This is recognized p. 27, in calling one "generic" and the other "individual." The creation of the world at large, heaven, earth and sea with all that they contain, is stated in ch. 1 and assumed in ch. 2. The latter simply gives details, which were necessarily passed over in the plan of the former, respecting the separate formation of man and woman and fitting up the garden for their habitation. Ch. 2:19 is the only apparent exception to the specific and limited character of this section. But even this is no real exception, since it is obvious, as has already been shown, that what the writer really means to say and what according to the laws of Hebrew speech he does say, is not that the beasts were originally made with the motive stated in v. 18, but that this furnished the occasion of God's bringing them to Adam to receive their names. Again, God gave names to certain things in ch. 1, Adam gave names to others in chs. 2,3; and these are precisely adjusted to one another, neither duplicating nor omitting any. God gave names to day and night, heaven, earth and seas 1:5,8,10, and to Adam 5:1. Adam gave names to the inferior animals 2:20 and to Eve 2:23, 3:20.

And while it is plain that chs. 2,3 is thus adjusted to ch. 1, it is no less clear that 1:1-2:3 anticipates what is to follow and purposely prepares the way for it. 1. The emphasis with which it is repeated at the close of each creative act "and God saw that it was good," 1:4,10,12, etc., and affirmed at the end of the whole

“behold, it was very good,” v. 31, would be unmeaning except as a designed preliminary to the reverse which was shortly to follow in the fall ch. 3. And this moreover is necessary to explain the otherwise unaccountable declaration 6:11 that “the earth was corrupt before God,” the mystery of which is unrelieved by anything that P contains.

2. Ch. 2:3 is evidently preliminary to the fourth commandment Ex. 20:8-11, which again in its terms distinctly refers back to 1:1-2:3. The ten commandments in Ex. 20 are by the critics referred to E, with which according to Dillmann J was acquainted. He must, therefore, have known and believed that the world was created in six days, and can have written nothing in Gen. chs. 2,3 inconsistent with this belief. This can only be evaded by alleging that the commandments are not preserved in Ex. 20 in their genuine original form. Dillmann disputes Ex. 20:11, because a different reason is given for observing the Sabbath in Deut. 5:15. But Ex. 20 is the authentic transcript, while Deut. 5 is a reproduction with hortatory modifications. This Dillmann admits in other instances; but Delitzsch very properly contends that this is no exception. The rejection of the verse is simply the usual device of the critics for disposing of whatever contravenes their hypothesis. Instead of adapting their hypothesis to the phenomena presented by the text, they insist upon remodeling the text into accordance with their hypothesis. The advantage of this method is that the critic can thus triumphantly establish whatever he sets out to prove.

The inner relation of the early chapters of Genesis and of the various sections in this book and in the rest of the Pentateuch which are held to be most closely connected with them severally, is of prime importance in determining the constitution of the Pentateuch and in seeking to obtain a satisfactory view of the method in which it originated. Adopting the critical nomenclature P and J as convenient designations of the portions to which they are ordinarily applied, without any prepossessions for or against their original separateness, it may be confidently affirmed that they cannot possibly represent independent and unrelated documents, as the critics commonly assume, as though each was written without reference to the other and with no knowledge of its existence. Pursuing the same general plan and running parallel to each other to such an extent that they were capable of being intertwined as we now find them, having besides so many points of connection in the way of direct allusions or presuppositions and implications, such as we have already discovered and as will appear more and more as we advance, they certainly have much more in common than can be explained as fortuitous coincidences of quite independent writers.

And when the critics go farther and, for the sake of making their original separateness more complete, claim that P and J are in repeated instances mutually inconsistent and contradictory, their hypothesis is suicidal. No intelligent redactor could have combined them as they are combined.

## III. SECTION 2.—GEN. 4,5.

It is affirmed 1) that the genealogy preserved by J ch. 4:1,17-22 and that given by P ch. 5 are not, as they appear to be, two separate lines of descent from Adam, but are "practically the same," p. 36. One and the same list of names has by some blunder been attached to different ancestors, and been converted into two races of opposite character, that of ungodly Cain and of godly Seth. 2) That ch. 4 J is at variance with itself and with other parts of the J document.

## 1. The two Genealogies not Identical.

Their identity is asserted purely on the ground of the remarkable similarity of names, p. 35. But

1. This is to set aside explicit and repeated historical testimony for no other reason than mere conjecture. It is gratuitously assumed not only that two genealogies recorded respectively by J and by P are the same, though professedly different; but this though on the critics' own theory P's genealogy is independently confirmed by J. The line Adam, Seth, Enosh is traced Gen. 4:25,26 J as well as 5:3-8 P, and as the critics assign 5:29 to J as another fragment of the same, p. 36 (1), these broken and scattered links in J utter the same voice with the more complete record of P, declaring that Noah and his father Lamech were descended not from Cain but from Seth. The distinctness of the two lines is moreover positively affirmed by calling Seth "another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew."

2. It requires a vast amount of critical manipulation to get rid of this testimony. In 4:25 the word "again" in the first clause, and the whole of the last clause after the word *אֲחֵר* viz. "another instead of Abel whom Cain slew" must be thrown out as an interpolation by R. The statement 4:1 that Cain was the son of Adam and Eve must be gotten out of the way to make him the same as Kenan the son of Enosh 5:9. The story of Cain and Abel must have been removed by R from its original place at a later point in the history. And Abel, as Wellhausen does not hesitate to say, is another name for Jabal, 4:20, of the sixth generation after Cain. All this wonderful medley is for the sake of consistently carrying through a conjecture, which implies that R was devoid of sense, and that neither P nor J understood the materials which they had before them, but which are so obvious to modern critics.

3. But it is said "It cannot be called a mere coincidence that the names are so nearly alike." Is it then an unheard-of thing that different persons should bear the same name? Does it discredit the roll of the kings of England, that the succession Edward-Richard-Henry occurs more than once in the course of it? If some one should affirm the identity of the German emperor Maximilian with the late unhappy ruler of Mexico, or of Saul the king of Israel with Saul of Tarsus, or of General Butler with the chief Butler of Pharaoh in the time of Joseph, would it be thought best to reconstruct history on this basis?

Delitzsch directs attention to the fact that but two names are the same in the entire series, viz. Enoch and Lamech. The first means *initiation* or *consecration*, and might very well be applied in the former sense to the first son of Cain born in exile as subsequently to the first born of Reuben, Gen. 46:9, and in the latter sense to that holy man who walked with God and was not for God took him. The meaning of the name Lamech is unknown: but the identification of the persons so called is forbidden by the speeches preserved from them, which reflect totally diverse characters. Cain and Kenan, Irad and Jared are distinct not merely in their form but in their radical letters and probable signification; so is the second and determining member in the compound names Methushael and Methuselah. The statement, p. 36 (5), that "a slight alteration has taken place" in these names is simply a confession that they are not the same. The hint, p. 36 note, of "a desire on the part of the writer to give to the descendants of Cain names with a bad meaning and to the descendants of Seth names with a good meaning" appears to find some confirmation in Mahalalel *praise of God* which stands over against Mehujael *smitten of God*.

Does not this in fact suggest a plausible solution of the whole mystery? The meaning of the most of these ancient names cannot now be ascertained. It is natural to suppose, however, that they are Hebrew representatives either of the names actually borne by these antediluvians or of appropriate designations subsequently applied to them. The disposition to produce like-sounding contrasts shown in Isa. 5:7, **מעקה-צדקה**, **משפח-משפט**, or by slight modifications, as of Beelzebub into Beelzebul, or Shechem into Sychar, to give a different turn to the meaning of words may have ruled in producing the parallelisms of these lists, in which the same or similar names may have had different though appropriate senses. The fact also that the LXX. has two more names common to both lists than the Hebrew, suggests the tendency in such cases to come into a closer approximation in the course of repeated transcription.\* That the larger portion of these names is no longer capable of a satisfactory explanation is not surprising, considering their very high antiquity and the multitude of other proper names which were doubtless significant at first, but which are not explicable now.

4. Gen. 5:3 does not necessarily imply that Seth was the first child of Adam, any more than Ex. 2:1,2 implies that Moses was the oldest child of his parents, though v. 4 declares the contrary, not to speak of Ex. 7:7.

## 2. No Discrepancy in Gen. ch. 4.

It is said that 4:17-24 is at variance with the rest of the chapter and with the J document generally in respect both 1) to the life of Cain and 2) the fact of the deluge. It is hence claimed that it must be considered to be an extract from some older document, J<sup>1</sup>, which has been incorporated in J.

\* Cf. "Kabil" and "Habil," the Mohammedan names for Cain and Abel. Sale's Koran, note to ch. 5:30.

1. J represents Cain, vs. 11,14, as condemned for the murder of his brother to be a fugitive and vagabond in the earth; according to J<sup>1</sup> he led a settled life and built a city, v. 17. a. It then remains to be accounted for, if these stories are in such direct antagonism, how R could have put them together without explanation or remark, as though he perceived no conflict between them and had no idea that his readers would suspect any. b. The fact is, that Cain was expelled from the seat of God's presence, the society of man and cultivated land to the wild steppes of the land of Nod (so called from נֹד in his sentence, equivalent to the Nomad region). The Hebrew עִיר *city* is in usage broad enough to cover a nomadic encampment, Num. 13:19, cf. 2 Kgs. 17:9. The dread lest his murder might be avenged, v. 14, betrayed itself afresh in his constructing such a defence for himself and his family, which subsequently may have grown from these small beginnings into much larger proportions.\* The builders of the first huts on the site of Chicago may be said to have laid the foundations of that city. c. Cain had previously been a tiller of the ground. That he continued to be "an agriculturist," p. 60, is certainly not stated in the text, and is in fact inconsistent with it. The arts developed by his descendants are those of nomads, viz., pasturage, music and mining, but not the cultivation of the soil. Jabal was "the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle" in a very different sense from that in which Abel was "a keeper of sheep" at his paternal home.

2. That these nomadic arts could not have been developed prior to the deluge or that the fact of such development would not have been mentioned by the writer, had he known of the deluge, is certainly not obvious enough to justify the assertion, p. 60, that "this could have been written only by one who knew of no interruption of human history by the deluge."

a. It is said in defence of this astonishing statement, p. 37 (10), that this "gives us the origin of the arts as they existed in the time of the writer." But this leaves out of view the fact that agriculture and all that pertains to it is not one of these arts, and yet to the Hebrew mind this was the chief of human occupations, the one most favored and principally regarded in their national constitution and upon which their whole scheme of life was based. Such an oversight on the part of J<sup>1</sup> becomes all the more unaccountable upon the critical hypothesis that it was written after the settlement in Canaan. So far is it from being true that "the three sons of Lamech are made the fathers of the world, classified according to types of civilization," p. 61 (5).

b. That the genealogy of Cain breaks off, as it does, without being continued, like every other genealogy in Genesis, to tribes or persons existing in the writer's own day is a strong presumptive evidence that the race was extinct. Wellhausen intrepidly suggests that Cain is a collective name for the Kenites, Num. 24:22,

\* Observe the form of statement in the Hebrew, which is significant, יָדָה בְּנֹד "he was building a city" as a work in progress, not "he built it," as though it was completed by him.

p. 37 (10), who are thus traced up to the origin of mankind; a piece of historical criticism akin to that which finds an allusion to South America in "the gold of Parvaim," 2 Chron. 3:6, since Parvaim is the dual of Peru.

c. The allusion in 4:24 to v. 15 plainly shows that the narrative of Lamech belongs to the same record with that of Cain and Abel. Dillmann can find no escape from this but either by putting the cart before the horse and supposing that the allusion is the other way, so that the language of Lamech may have given rise to the story of Cain's murder, or else by ejecting the troublesome clause from the text as an addition by R. It is said without further explanation, p. 60 (6), that "a study of the different senses in which **קָם שְׁבַעִתִּים** is used in these passages, serves really to support the idea of different authorship." The different senses amount to this, that Cain was to be avenged by the Lord; Lamech boasts that he will be avenged in a higher measure by weapons that he carries himself. But how this supports diversity of authorship remains to be shown. The appeal to Budde, p. 60, *note*, means just this, that if he is suffered to change the text and convert the passive into an active verb, he can thereby render the reference to v. 15 inappropriate.

### 3. The Critical Partition.

#### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

It is intimated (p. 33) that the whole of ch. 5 except a few words is characteristic of P. Precisely the contrary is the fact, as any one can see who approaches the subject without bias and with no hypothesis to support. There is no reason for connecting this chapter with P any more than with J, or for supposing that this genealogy ever formed a part of the document P before it was included in the Book of Genesis.

1. It is linked to the same extent and in precisely the same manner with P and with J. After the opening title, which will be considered apart, 5:1-3 borrows the language of 1:26-28 P; 5:29 that of 3:17 J. The genealogy is traced from Adam to Noah and his three sons, all of whom are alike named in P and in J. "Called his" or "their name," 5:2,3,29, corresponds with 4:25,26 J; **קָרָא**\* as a verb comparatively rare, 5:5 as 3:22 J; "walked with God," 5:22, coincides with 6:9 P. Beyond these express allusions to and coincidences with P and J alike, there is nothing to ally it with either. The critics say that 5:29 is an insertion by R. They do so simply because their hypothesis requires it and for no other reason. There is precisely the same ground for saying that R inserted 5:1,2 and modified 5:3. Both passages stand on the same footing, and should be dealt with in the same way. The natural inference from the facts of the case is that the writer of Genesis had before him an old genealogical register from which he extracted the

\* Found also Gen. 11:12,14; 25:7 in a genealogy or a statement extracted from a genealogy, and besides in the Hexateuch only Ex. 1:16 E, 33:20 J, Num. 21:8,9 E, Lev. 18:5 (Dillmann doubtful whether P or J), 25:35 (Dillmann P): Kayser denies that either is from P.

statements of this chapter (as subsequently 11:10-26), and in doing so he inserted these allusions to what he had already written.

2. In this way the peculiarity of the title of ch. 5 finds its most satisfactory explanation. "This is *the book* of the generations of Adam." This form of expression does not recur again. In drawing from the beginning of this old volume, its exact title is retained. And the remaining titles of Genesis, which, as we have seen, occur in P and in J connections alike, are framed upon this model; only, as they were not separate books, they are not so called, but simply "these are the generations," etc.

3. The form of the pre-Abrahamic history is thus best accounted for. This ancient genealogical history supplies the framework, and the narrative is inserted between its links. The line of descent is traced regularly to Noah when the departure from analogy in naming three sons, 5:32, instead of one, and arresting the genealogy, imply that an important epoch has been reached. The narrative of the deluge is then inserted (including the time of its occurrence, 7:6,11), after which the unfinished term in the genealogy is completed, 9:28,29, in language identical with ch. 5.

Ch. 5 certainly does not support the current critical hypothesis. So far as it indicates anything, it throws its weight in favor of the still older hypothesis of Vitranga.

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

The numbers are those of p. 32.

(1) האדם, see (13), (37) of previous section. "J employs sparingly proper names." Yet J names Adam, 4:25; Eve, 4:1, 3:20 (arbitrarily assigned to R); Cain and Abel (cf. in P 5:4); Cain's descendants, Seth, Enosh, Noah, Shem, Ham, Japheth, Nimrod, and many others in ch. 10; Terah, Abram, Nahor, Sarai, Milcah, Iscah, Hagar, Keturah and her children, etc., etc.; and the sacred name Jehovah, while P has the common noun Elohim.

(2) ידע as a euphemism four times in J, twice in J<sup>1</sup>, three times in P. There is no difference in the case that affects the meaning of the word.

(3) יכף in the sense of *again* is referred to J or E, except in Lev. 26:18 P<sup>1</sup>.

(4) רעה keep sheep, (5) עבד האדמה till the ground, dig wells (used by J in but one narrative, 26:19,21,22,32), water flocks, are "frequent in J, but not found in P." It is to be presumed that he had heard of such things, and knew the proper words for them, but had no occasion to speak of them. This also applies to (9) רבץ,

(10) אהל (14), כח (12), צעק (once in P), צעק (10), נחם (23).

(6) כנחה is used by J of three things, viz., the offering of Cain and Abel, 4:3,4,5; Jacob's present to Esau, 33:10; his present to the governor of Egypt, 43:11,15,25,26. P uses the word freely when he has occasion for it, Ex. 29:41, etc.

(7) שעה Gen. 4:4,5 J; Ex. 5:9 E; nowhere else in Hexateuch.

(8) חרה mostly referred to J or E. On Josh 7:1 Dillmann says, "This is a fragment from P as is shown by Josh. 22:20 P, only instead of 'ויהי קצף' he must have said, 'ויהי קצף' which would suit the hypothesis better.

(10) צעק commonly referred to E; but how this is accomplished may be illustrated from Ex. 14:15, where a clause is cut out of a verse belonging to P solely and avowedly because it contains צעק.

(11) פצה occurs but once besides in J.

(13) ילר "J 'to beget,' for which P uses 'הוליד.' ילר is limited to J only by critical

legerdemain. Gen. 22:23 is referred to J notwithstanding the allusion by P in 25:20, which makes it necessary to assume that P had stated the same thing in some other passage now lost; this also carries with it 22:20, whose allusion to 11:29 requires the latter to be torn from its connection and referred to J. In 25:3 יִלֵּךְ alternates with וַיֵּלֶךְ, which is made a criterion of P in ch. 10, cf. also 46:9 sqq.; Ex. 6:15 sqq.

Nos. 14-22 occur in J<sup>1</sup>, who is by the hypothesis a distinct writer from J, and cannot therefore be adduced in evidence of his diction. (18) הָאֵלֹהִים, (19) פָּצַע, (21) רַבְרָוּהָ do not occur in J at all. The same is probably true of (16) הָיוּ אֲנִי, since in 10:21 הָיוּ belongs to a different clause from אֲנִי; 11:29, 22:21 הָיוּ does

not occur, and the reference of 19:37,38 is doubtful; Kautzsch at least ascribes these verses to E. (15) כָּנָוָה, (17) שָׁם אֶחָדָיו, (22) חֹלֵל meaning to be the first, occur but once in J. (20) יִלֵּךְ (noun) with the exception of 44:20, occurs in but one narrative in J, 32:23; 33:1-14, which seems best accounted for by supposing that this word belonged to that story in its oral or written form, and is here accordingly retained.

(24) The only word under this number not before remarked upon is תְּשׁוּקָה, occurring but twice in the Hexateuch, Gen. 3:6; 4:7, and each time according to Wellhausen, Budde, Kuenen and Kittel by a different writer, p. 62.

### 3) SUBDIVISION OF THE DOCUMENTS.

It is a curious circumstance that, while Dillmann and Wellhausen agree that 4:1b-15 (or 16) J and vs. 1a,16(or 17)-24 J<sup>1</sup> must be from different writers, and that one of these wrote chs. 2, 3, they are at strife as to which it was. Dillmann adduces what he considers clear proofs from diction and style that chs. 2, 3 belong to J. Wellhausen and those who follow him in this particular set these aside without ceremony and attribute these chapters to J<sup>1</sup>. Dillmann, with some hesitation, it is true, identifies J<sup>1</sup> with E; others make them quite distinct. To these indications of the inconclusiveness of critical arguments in the view of the critics themselves add the intimation, p. 59, that it may be considered an open question "whether J<sup>1</sup> is to be taken as the original, J<sup>2</sup> being an interpolation; or J<sup>2</sup> is the real J, J<sup>1</sup> having been incorporated," that is to say, whether the sections of J<sup>1</sup> or those assigned to J<sup>2</sup> are by the same hand as those attributed to J in the rest of Genesis. If this is not the meaning, the remark would seem to be superfluous. That it was so intended appears to be implied p. 32 (1), where J<sup>2</sup> is apparently distinguished from J, although they are commonly identified. Such admissions leave one in doubt of the infallibility of the critical sense in some other cases.

The discovery of successive strata in each document severally, announced by Wellhausen, and in which he has been eagerly followed since, is simply a return to the principles and methods of the fragmentary hypothesis. Their adoption can only result in an indefinite disintegration of the documents and a destruction of the entire basis on which their existence is supposed to rest, as appears most plainly in the results already reached respecting the priestly legislation. It is the inevitable nemesis of the hypothesis reacting upon itself. The very principles and methods which are employed in dividing the Pentateuch into different documents, can be applied with like success and quite as much cogency in the division and subdivision of each of the documents to any assignable extent.

## 4) DUPLICATE STATEMENTS.

Dillmann thinks that the composite character of the Book of Genesis is shown more plainly in the duplicate mention of the birth of Seth and Enosh, 4:25, 26; 5:3-6, than anywhere else. Why should the same writer thus repeat himself?

The critics see in 4:25,26 the beginning of a genealogy by J, to which 5:29 also belonged. It is held, therefore, that J must have given the line of descent from Adam to Noah in full, parallel to that by P in ch.5; but that R, while omitting the greater portion as needless repetition, saw fit to retain these three verses because of the additional information which they convey. Ch. 5:29 was inserted from J in the body of P's genealogy, but 4:25,26 R saw fit to preserve distinct. Now it is difficult to see why the same motive, be it what it might, which determined R not to blend 4:25,26 with the corresponding verses of ch. 5, as he had done 5:29, might not be similarly influential with the original writer. Some reasons for such a separate statement naturally offer themselves.

1. One arises out of the original plan of the Book of Genesis and its division into successive sections, each in a manner complete in itself and introduced by its own special title, "these are the generations," etc. This division is unfortunately obscured to the common reader by the familiar division into chapters. The preceding section, 2:4-ch. 4, had recorded a constant descent from bad to worse, the sin of our first parents, their expulsion from paradise, the murder of Abel, Cain's descendants reaching in Lamech the climax of boastful and unrestrained violence. That the section might not be suffered to end in unrelieved gloom, a brighter outlook is added at the close, precisely as in 6:8. Seth is substituted for Abel whom Cain slew, and instead of piety perishing with murdered Abel it reaches a new development in the days of Enosh.

2. These closing verses are further necessary to the proper understanding of ch. 5. While the insertion of these statements in that chapter would have been confusing and would have marred its symmetry, it was important to set 5:3 in its true light in relation to 5:1,2, as is done by 4:25, and to indicate the character of the race of Seth in contrast with the ungodly race of Cain, as is done by 4:26.

The whole bears evidence of adaptation and careful thought, and is suggestive of one author, not the combination of separate compositions prepared with no reference to each other.

A further indication of the same sort, implying the original unity of these chapters, is their correspondence with the general plan of Genesis in respect to genealogies. Uniformly the divergent lines are first traced before proceeding with the principal line of descent leading to the chosen people. Ch. 10 the various nations of mankind sprung from the three sons of Noah, then 11:10 sqq. the line from Shem to Abram. Nahor's descendants 22:20 sqq., those of Keturah 25:1 sqq., and of Ishmael verses 12 sqq., before those of Isaac verses 19 sqq. Those of Esau 36:1 sqq. before those of Jacob 37:2 sqq. In like manner the

degenerate and God-forsaken race of Cain is traced 4:17 sqq. before proceeding with that of Seth ch. 5. Is this conformity with the constant plan of the book the accidental result of the junction of two documents of diverse character, independently prepared with no reference to each other?

#### IV. SECTION 3.—GEN. 6:1-9:29.

The divisive hypothesis is now getting into deeper waters, of which the narrative of the deluge is at once a symbol and an occasion. Hitherto it has had an ostensible ground for partition in distinct sections determined either by the alternation of divine names or by the change of subject or by both combined. Now this resource forsakes it, and it must venture on the open sea, destitute of chart or compass. And this is but a premonition of the reefs and shallows, cross-currents and whirlpools, fogs and storms, and every peril known to navigators, which must be encountered in its hazardous course. If the history of literature affords an ampler illustration of "confusion worse confounded" than the hopelessly inextricable medley in which the critics find themselves in their attempts to struggle through the three middle books of the Pentateuch, and that acquisition of doubtful value to themselves which they have recently annexed to form a Hexateuch, the Book of Joshua, it has never yet been discovered.

We are told, p. 39, that "this section contains two entirely distinct accounts of the deluge," and pp. 46 sqq., that these accounts differ irreconcilably in several respects. Let us inquire into the correctness of these statements.

##### 1. No Duplicate Account of the Deluge.

It is alleged, p. 46, that "the material is throughout duplicated." But this is clearly a mistake. The narrative contains no superfluous repetition. The idea that it does arises from confounding things which differ, or from overlooking reasons which naturally led in the plan of the writer to a re-statement in a different connection of certain particulars which, in an event so extraordinary, so graphically related and upon the details of which the writer dwells with such evident interest, is surely not surprising.

Apparently the most plausible instance meets us at the outset. Gen. 6:5-8 Jehovah sees the wickedness of men and resolves to destroy them all except Noah; whereupon follow verses 9-13, in which Elohim sees the wickedness of men and announces to Noah his purpose to destroy them. Is not here a clear case in which there is first a statement by J, then a repetition of the very same statement by P? Not at all; vs. 6,7 declare the divine purpose, verse 13 the announcement of this purpose to Noah, which is quite distinct and carries the narrative forward a step further. Observe also that in the scheme of the book a new section begins 6:9. In order to the completeness of this section it is introduced with a statement of the situation. The sons of Noah are named afresh,

6:10; cf. 5:32; but no one suspects a difference of writer on this account; see a like summary of previous statements for the same reason 25:19,20; so the wickedness of men in the sight of God is re-stated in a few words 6:11,12, as preliminary to the declaration of his purpose.

Elohim directs Noah to build an ark for the preservation of himself and every species of living things, which Noah does, 6:14-22. Jehovah then bids Noah to enter the ark, taking some of all living creatures with him; which Noah does, 7:1-5. These paragraphs plainly belong together, each incomplete without the other. By assigning the former to P and the latter to J, J is made to assume the existence of the ark, though he has said nothing of its being built; and P records the construction of the ark, but after it is finished God never tells him to enter it. The consequence is that the critics have no sooner sundered these paragraphs than, in order to restore the connection, they are straightway obliged to assume that J must have written something just like 6:14-22, and P something just like 7:1-5, only R did not think proper to preserve it. He made up his account with a paragraph from P and another from J, which though written quite independently, dovetail precisely as if written continuously.

Ch. 7:7-9 records Noah's entry into the ark with his family and some of all living things; then in vs. 13-16 their entry into the ark is mentioned again. The critics say that the same identical thing is here stated first by J, then by P. But in assigning vs. 7-9 to J they violate their own criteria in almost every particular. "Noah and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him" (not "all his house" as 7:1), רמש "creeping," "two and two" (no mention of "seven and seven" as 7:2), "male and female," and "Elohim" are all declared to be marks of P. It is a sheer subterfuge to say with Dillmann that R has here freely modified the text "in order to compose the differences as far as possible." Why he should be concerned just here to alter forms of expression which he retains without change elsewhere, or to reconcile differences which no pains are taken to remove in other places, does not appear. And this is particularly insupposable in the present instance; for the only reason why R can be imagined to have used the statements of both documents, instead of only one, as in other cases, is that he might preserve what was peculiar in each. And yet we are told that he has himself neutralized the very end he had in view by conforming one to the other. The fact is that there is no indication of two documents or of a duplicate narrative here at all, any more than there is in the twofold statement of the time of the flood 7:6,11, where no one suspects a difference of writers. Precisely as the date of the flood is first given generally, the year only being named, and then more specifically by the month and the day, so the entry into the ark is first stated in general terms, and then "the selfsame day" on which it took place is accurately fixed. And if the criteria of the critics are of any worth, there was but one writer in the case.

From 7:11 to 8:20 the name Jehovah occurs but once, viz., 7:16b, which is for this reason held to belong to J. With this sole exception there is not throughout the passage just indicated a word or a phrase that is elsewhere claimed as characteristic of J,\* and the assigning of any portion of it to that document is purely arbitrary and without justification on the ground of diction, style, theology or anything else. Hupfeld succeeded in picking out a clause here and a clause there from the sentences to which they belonged, and thus made a shift to preserve the continuity of J. But he had no warrant for so doing except, as Delitzsch fitly phrases it, "the omnipotence resident in the ink of a German scholar."

Ch. 7:12 is sundered from its connection and given to J because of its correspondence with v. 4. Yet **מים** *rain*, v. 12, is quite different from **מטר**, v. 4, and nowhere occurs in J, though rain is repeatedly mentioned. It is found but once in the Hexateuch, Lev. 26:4, about whose authorship the critics are not agreed. The number "forty" surely is not peculiar to J. P is not precluded from saying that it rained forty days and nights, because J had said that it would do so, whether this be supposed to be the historical fact or merely the current belief. P speaks elsewhere of periods of forty days and forty years, Lev. 12:2,4; Num. 13:25; 14:34. Just here the perplexity of the critics in respect to 7:17a is instructive. "The flood was forty days upon the earth" is given entire by Dillmann to J, by Kuenen to R, and with the exception of the words "forty days," by Kautzsch and Socin to P; also by Hupfeld to P without exception, only the "forty days" must be understood differently from J in 7:4. All is with the design of bringing J and P into conflict regarding the duration of the flood; so that is effected, they are not particular about the mode of accomplishing it.

The attempt to set v. 12 in contrast with v. 11b, as though something belonging to a different order of things was intended, cannot be called successful. The opening of the windows of heaven cannot by possibility suggest anything but deluging rains, even to those who would fasten upon the sacred writer the conception of a supernal ocean and literal flood-gates in the sky, and this conclusion is further rendered necessary by the Hebrew phrase, v. 12. The Waw Consec. future indicates that the rain was not a separate and independent thing, but the sequence of opening the windows of heaven.

For similar reasons it is equally arbitrary and unwarranted to sunder the first two clauses of 8:2 from the last clause, assigning the former to P and the latter to J.

\* The only plausible instance that can be adduced is 7:22, "in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life," compared with 2:7 J, where, however, the reference is to man alone and the phrase is "breath of life." It equally stands in relation to 6:17 and 7:15 P, where the reference is to the lower animals as well, and the phrase is "spirit of life"; a relation which the critics acknowledge, when they seek to expunge **רוח** *spirit* from 7:22 by ascribing it to R. **יקום** 7:23, which occurs once in J 7:4, once in D, Deut. 11:8, and nowhere else in the Bible, is not to the point. Nor is **מרחק** 7:23, which besides 6:7 and 7:4 is to be found only Ex. 32:32,33, in J, and occurs in P, Num. 5:23. Nor **חלון** 8:6, which is found besides in the Hexateuch only in Gen. 28:8 J, and Josh. 2:15,18,21, where the critics are uncertain whether it belongs to J or E.

A like severance is made of clauses from their connection in respect to the increase of the waters, 7:17*b*, the perishing of all terrestrial life, 7:22,23, the diminution of the waters, 8:3*a*, and the drying of the ground, 8:13*b*. The plea in each case is that there are parallel statements conveying substantially the same thought, which cannot be referred to a single writer, who would not express himself so pleonastically. They must accordingly be regarded as indicating distinct documents. But

1. If R felt it important to emphasize the momentous character of the successive stages of the flood by these repeated statements, why may not the original writer have dwelt upon them in like manner for a similar reason?

2. After the partition is made, there still remain repetitions in each document severally, so that if this is a valid ground for division, the partition should be carried further still. The increase of the waters is stated four times with some variations in form and in the accompanying circumstances, 7:17-20; the death of all that lived upon the earth, three times, vs. 21-23; the subsidence of the waters, four times, 8:1,3,5; the drying of the surface of the ground, three times, vs. 13,14. The writer in each case recurs to the same thing again and again to note its advance, or to give expression to his sense of its extraordinary character.

3. Like repetitions abound in other cases in which no one imagines that they are traceable to a diversity of documents; thus to draw illustrations only from the narrative of the flood, see 6:11,12; 7:14-16\*; 5:32, 6:10, 10:1; 9:9,11; 9:12-17.

The paragraph relating to Noah's sending out the birds, 8:6-12, is quite devoid of any critical marks allying it to one or other of the documents, as is apparent from the history of its treatment. From Astruc and Eichhorn to the supplementary critics Tuch and Knobel, it was almost uniformly assigned to P. Stähelin is uncertain about it. Reuss regards it as the sole surviving remnant of a third account of the flood distinct from the other two. Hupfeld gives 8:7, the raven, to J and vs. 8-12, the dove, to P. Friedreich Delitzsch, on the other hand, gives the raven to P and the dove to J. Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Dillmann, and others, assign the whole to J, in which they were preceded by the eccentric Igen. The motive which at present inclines the majority to J appears to be twofold. Such a graphic incident is thought to befit the more "picturesque" narrator, and this is the most striking parallel with the cuneiform tablets, with which J is held to stand in the closer relation. Both an argument and an inference are supplied from these two points of view of a somewhat circular nature. It is assigned to J because he is picturesque and allied to the tablets; and being so assigned proves him to be picturesque and allied to the tablets. One cannot but feel that, *mutatis mutandis*, he might with equal ease have been called "rigid

\* Dillmann lays bare the secret of the whole matter, when he says on Gen. 7:16: "It is as though the author, moved by the momentous character of the day, could not do enough to satisfy himself in the detailed portraiture of the transaction."

and stereotyped" on account of his "regular formulas" and "repetition" of like phrases, thus: "and he sent forth the raven," v. 7; "and he sent forth the dove," v. 8; "and he stayed yet other seven days and sent forth the dove," vs. 10,12; "waters were abated from off the face of the ground," vs. 8,11, cf. v. 9; "to him into the ark," v. 9 *bis*; "going and returning" in Hebrew vs. 3,7, cf. v. 5.

The direction to leave the ark and the actual going forth from it, 8:15-19, are from P. J makes no mention of either. It is assumed that he must have recorded both, but R thought P's statement sufficient and hence did not preserve that of J along with it. This seems plausible. But why then was it worth while to retain both accounts of the entry into the ark, even while modifying them into almost precise conformity with one another? Is it not plain here again that the repetition in the former instance was not the inconsiderate copying of the same statement from two distinct sources, but was with the view of emphasizing the exactness with which the flood came upon the very day of the entry into the ark? There was no such emphasis connected with the moment of leaving it, and we find no repetition.

Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22 J, and God's covenant with him, 9:1-17 P, are not parallel accounts of the same transaction, as the critics claim, but the former is preliminary to the latter. First comes the offering of the sacrifice, Jehovah's acceptance of it and his purpose not to destroy the earth again for the sin of man. This purpose is then communicated to Noah in the form of a blessing and a covenant with an instituted sign.

The examination of the narrative of the flood thus shows that so far from everything being duplicated, nothing is duplicated from first to last except the entry into the ark, and that for a special reason not suggestive of two documents, but excluding them. Moreover, when all has been assigned to J, that can with any reason be given him, this does not yield a continuous parallel record of the entire transaction. With the exception of a single clause in 7:16, it is limited to two brief paragraphs at the beginning, 6:1-8; 7:1-5, and one at the end, 8:20-22. The documentary character of J finds no support here. If there were two writers, it would seem as though J could only have made some short supplementary additions to the larger and fuller narrative of P.

But here the documentary critics retort that the supplementary hypothesis will not account for the twofold statement of the entry into the ark. They have a Redactor ready at hand who might have copied the same thing into his narrative from two different sources, and in copying might have assimilated one to the other, senseless as such a proceeding would be; but who would ever undertake to supplement a treatise that he was editing, by adding of his own motion what was already there, and that in almost identical terms, and in doing so adopt the words and phrases of the book itself instead of those which he was accustomed to employ

in every other addition made by him? Each class of critics seems to be in the right as against the other; and themselves being judges, neither form of the hypothesis is free from difficulties in this portion of Genesis.

## 2. No Discrepancies.

Ch. 6:1-4 is said (p. 60) to be in conflict with all that follows in two respects, (1) in limiting human life thenceforth to 120 years, (2) in ignoring the flood; the Nephilim are here spoken of, and as the Nephilim were still in existence Num. 13:33, there could in the view of the author of this passage have been no deluge in which all mankind perished with the exception of a single family. It is accordingly claimed that these verses are not properly a part of J, but have been introduced into it from J<sup>1</sup>, an older document which knows nothing of a deluge. They are quite foreign to the context in which they are found, and contain a mythical account of the origin of the Nephilim, a gigantic race among the Canaanites, who are here represented as having sprung from the intermarriage of angels with the daughters of men. Nothing could well be more baseless and chimerical.

1. It is observable that the argument of diversity is not here rested in any measure upon differences of diction and style. Budde (*Biblische Urgeschichte*, p. 6) points out in detail the exact conformity of 6:1,2 to the language of J elsewhere.

2. The author or compiler of Genesis certainly could not intentionally have so stultified himself, as this view of the passage supposes, by inserting that as introductory to the narrative of the flood which by its very terms precludes its existence. Could he so grossly have mistaken its meaning? or is it not possible that modern critics may put a wrong interpretation on these isolated verses?

3. This most extraordinary conclusion is built on very slender premises. Its sole support is the application of the same term, "Nephilim," to antediluvians and to Canaanites. The word is obscure in its meaning and its derivation. The LXX. and Jerome translate it "giants." It is more probably an appellative than a gentile noun. It does not occur again in the narrative of the conquest, but only in the report of the spies, whose excited imagination could best express their impression of these men of great stature and powerful frames by saying that they were the old giants revived; but with no more thought of denying the fact of the deluge than one who might call an intense old fogey an antediluvian. Or if Nephilim was an actual national name, is sameness of name a sure argument of identity? May we not call the American aborigines Indians without involving ourselves in the old error of Columbus? or speak of Trojans in the State of New York without discrediting the fall of ancient Troy? or have the exploits of Jack the giant-killer anything to do with the giants of the ancient Greek mythology?

4. Whatever interpretation be put upon doubtful expressions in Gen. 6:3, it plainly intimates the divine purpose to inflict some penalty affecting the life of the whole human race. "His days shall be 120 years," if spoken of the generation then living would mean that they should not survive that limit; if of successive generations of men, that this should henceforth be the term of human life. The former is demanded by the context. The latter is preferred by critics whose uniform usage is to interpret at variance with the context, if possible. It is here absolutely without support. There is no suggestion anywhere that the duration of human life was ever fixed at 120 years. It is contradicted by all that is narrated of the ages of the patriarchs.\*

The alleged discrepancy in regard to the duration of the deluge, p. 46, as though J made it 60 or 100 days and P a year, is a pure figment.

1. All the seeming basis for this misrepresentation has been destroyed by the demonstration already given that there are not two distinct accounts of the deluge.

2. But even allowing the arbitrary and indefensible partition made by the critics, their inference does not follow. The trick is so transparent that it should impose upon no one. It is simply parading a part as though it were the whole. "At the end of forty days Noah opened the window of the ark," 8:6. Forty days from what? The critics are in doubt, p. 47, note, whether to reckon from the day that the forty days' rain began or that it ended. What then is to be thought of the intelligence of R in compiling this narrative? As this verse stands, it is not possible to reckon otherwise than from the 1st day of the 10th month, 8:5. Adding to this the three periods of seven days, it appears that the dove was sent out for the last time on the 1st day of the 12th month. After another month Noah removes the covering of the ark. And in a month and twenty-seven days more he leaves the ark entirely. All is thus in perfect harmony.

3. The inference of the critics is besides quite unfounded upon their own principles. By their own concession J is not complete. His genealogy from Adam to Noah is only preserved in part. His account of building the ark and of Noah's leaving it have been omitted, R not judging it necessary to repeat from J what he had already inserted from P. Whence then this sudden confidence that no numbers originally in J have been omitted, notwithstanding the fact that such an assumption gives to his statements a meaning that they cannot now have, sets them in opposition to otherwise uncontradicted statements of P, and convicts R of incapacity or worse?

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\* The question whether the sons of God in 6:2,4 were angels (p. 40) has nothing to do with the critical partition of the passage and cannot here be discussed. No one need be surprised at any conceit of a certain class of interpreters. It is not strange that Josephus should have imported into this passage ideas borrowed from the Greek mythology. But it is to my mind utterly incomprehensible how judicious, not to say reverent, interpreters, could for one moment countenance an opinion so utterly without warrant or analogy in any part of Scripture, so unmeaning and so baseless.

The general direction, 6:19 P, to take a pair of each kind of animals, is made more specific when the time arrives to enter the ark, clean beasts by sevens, the unclean by twos, 7:2 J. But J also relapses into the general form of statement, 7:9; or if the critics prefer, R does so, which amounts to the same thing, as by the hypothesis he had J's previous statement before him. There is no more discrepancy here than between 7:6 and 11.

Ch. 7:10 the flood came seven days not after Noah entered the ark, but after the announcement, 7:1-4; so there is no conflict with 7:13.

The differences alleged, p. 48, "as to the form of the ark" and "the general conception of the flood" are foisted upon the text, not found in it.

We find on p. 61 a precious piece of historical and literary criticism in relation to 9:20-27. An ancient prophecy, in which the names of Shem, Japheth and Canaan appear, is there recorded, together with the circumstances under which it was delivered. The critics think the circumstances improbable; therefore they are untrue. Noah is here "a husbandman, a rôle quite distinct from that of a navigator," which he sustains elsewhere; as if he should have been cultivating the soil during the flood, or should continue to sail about in the ark after the flood was over. They can see no reason why sentence should have been pronounced upon Canaan for the shameful deed of his father; therefore there was no reason; therefore it was not done. As though it were not the keenest of inflictions upon a father to be punished in his child; and as though the law of heredity, the propagation of character and the perpetuation of the evil consequences of transgression generation after generation were not among the most patent and familiar facts, of which the beastliness of the Canaanites and their merited doom afford a signal illustration. And now, if they may change the text of the narrative on the pretext of conforming it with the prophecy, and so make Shem, Japheth and Canaan the three sons of Noah, they can thus bring it into conflict with every other statement in the history; therefore this has been extracted from a document J<sup>1</sup> at variance with both J and P. Or if they may reverse the process, and insert Ham instead of Canaan in the prophecy, they can show that it was not fulfilled. Or if they may put a belittling interpretation upon the prophecy, they can restrict it to a "narrow" range. By this time they have shown that something is absurd. They think that it is this venerable prophecy, whose profound and far-reaching meaning, whose appropriateness in a book intended for Israel about to enter on the conquest of Canaan, and whose exact fulfillment have been universally recognized. Most persons will think that the absurdity is in their treatment of the passage.



9:4-7, (1) legal phraseology, "require blood," in Hex. besides only Gen. 42:22 E; the prohibition of eating blood is in the writer's mind based upon sacrificial explanation, Lev. 17:10-14, and proves that in his view sacrifice already

existed, contrary to the repeated allegation, p. 38 (2), p. 50 (3), etc.

9:8-11, (4) You and your seed, also in J, 26:3; 28:18.

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

6:1-4. If this is from J<sub>1</sub>, it cannot be cited to show the diction of J. (3) בני האלהים nowhere else in Hex. (3) טוב in a physical sense, so in P, 1:4,12; Lev. 27:10 sqq.; Num. 36:6. (4) רון only here. (5) נפלים besides only Num. 13:33 E; not in J at all. (6) גבור only once in J, 10:8.

6:5-8, (3) רק and (9) מצא חן happen not to occur in P. (7) אל-לבו in Hex. besides only 8:21. Alleged insertions by R are simply confessions that the facts do not correspond with the hypothesis.

7:1-5, (4) טהור, a technical word of ritual law, only in the narrative of the flood, 7:2,8, 8:20 (the verb once in E, 35:2), before the Mosaic period; there is no proof that it would have been esteemed an anachronism by P. (5) איש ואשתו (of animals) only 7:2 *bis*, but in vs. 3,9 ונקבה זכר arbitrarily assigned to R. J has זכר, Ex. 13:12,15, cf. also 34:23, of which נקבה is the only correlative term. P not only uses איש ואשה of persons, Ex. 35:29, but אשה even of inanimate objects, as curtains, Ex. 26:3,5,6. (6) לימים Dill. adduces למחר Ex. 8:19 J as a parallel use of ל.

8:2b,3a, (2) שוב arbitrarily referred to J; in P, Lev. 14:39, etc.

8:6-12,13b, (2) קלל nowhere else in this sense; in P, Lev. 24:11 sqq.; חסר in P, Gen. 8:5; Ex. 16:18; in J, Gen. 18:23, nowhere else in Hex. except three times in Deut. (4) חול and חולל not elsewhere in Hex. (6) מכסה in P, Ex. 26:14, etc., the covering does not exclude a door in the side.

8:20-22, (1) מוכח and (3) עליה are always associated with יהוה, not with אלהים, unless defined as Gen. 22:1 sqq., האלהים, and 46:1, "the God of his father Isaac." ריח ניחח, a technical expression of the ritual law (P), is here used by J. (12) כל-חיי only here in J (3:20 is referred to R); but also in P, 6:19, differing only in the generic article. (13) קר, קיץ, חרף only here in Hex. (14) חם in Hex. besides only 18:1.

9:18-21, (2) נפצה כל הארץ, for which P is said to have נפררו הגוים בארץ, but Dillmann admits that they have not precisely the same sense. (6) שכר here in J<sub>1</sub>, in Hex. besides only 48:34; cognate noun in P, Lev. 10:9; Num. 6:3.

9:22-27, (1) בחוץ here in J<sub>1</sub>, only once in J, 24:31; P has the same noun without a prep. חוץ Lev. 18:9, or with a different prep., כחוץ, Gen. 6:14, etc. (2) שמלה not in P. (3) אחרנית here in J<sub>1</sub>; nowhere else in Hex.

## V. SECTION 4.—GEN. 10:1-12:6.

### 1. No Discrepancies.

That Havilah and Sheba occur both (10:7) among the descendants of Ham and (vs. 28,29) of Shem is readily explained either as suggested, p. 55 (3), there may have been two tribes of each name, or the tribes may have been of mixed origin, partly of one race, partly of another; cf. Dedan, 10:7, 25:3; Lud, 10:13,22; Uz, 10:23, 22:21, 36:28; Asshur, 10:22, was descended from Shem; Asshurim, 25:3, from Abraham by Keturah. It is quite incredible that in the intention of the author, this obscure Arabian tribe is to be identified with the famous Assyrian empire.

"The difficulty in passing from ch. 10 to ch. 11," p. 56 (6), is purely fanciful. Before parting finally with the three sons of Noah the writer traces their descend-

ants in the different nations of mankind with their various languages, ch. 10. He then resumes the thread of his history in ch. 11, and explains how the first impulse was given to the dispersion of men and the division of languages. It is precisely as any historian would do who is not a mere annalist.

There is not the slightest ground in the text for the representation (p. 56) that "vast multitudes" were engaged in building the tower and that Jehovah was "alarmed" in consequence, or that there were only "twenty families." "Cush begat Nimrod," 10:8; but this need not indicate a single generation any more than when Noah's grandson Canaan begat several tribes, vs. 15-18, or when (Mt. 1:1) Jesus Christ is called the son of David and David the son of Abraham. How this narrative conflicts with the account of the deluge, it is impossible to see.

## 2. The Critical Partition.

The suspicion was early expressed that the episode respecting Nimrod (vs. 8-12) did not belong originally to ch. 10, for no reason apparently but its parenthetic character. Critics were generally agreed that the rest of the chapter was a unit; and as there was no apparent ground for attaching it to one document rather than the other, it was by some referred to P, and by others to J. Wellhausen compromised the matter by assuming that בְּנֵי the sons of, vs. 2-4, etc., was a sign of P, and יֶלֶד, vs. 8, 13, 15, etc., of J, and divided the chapter on that basis, in spite of the fact that these are both combined in 25:3, 4, which is confessedly from a single source.

### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Words before explained will not be repeated.

וַיִּלְדֶּה 10:1, as J 4:18; יֶלֶד 4:26, 10:21 J, as P 35:26, 36:5 (so Dill.), 46:22, 27; בְּנֵי הָאָדָם only in this chapter. פָּרַד 10:5, but J 13:14; 25:23; 30:40; פָּלַג alleged to be its equivalent in J 10:25, found only here in Hex. אִיִּם only here in Hex. אִוִּר כְּשָׂרִים "not found in J" simply because it is cut out of a J context, 11:28; 15:7, and assigned to R. רָכַשׁ clause cut out of E

context, 31:18, and assigned to P on account of this word, in 14:11, 12, 16, 21 in E (Dill.); כִּקְנָה said to be its equivalent in JE is found in P, 34:5, 23; 36:6, 7; 46:6. The words and phrases of the genealogy, 11:10-26, show it to be the continuation of that in ch. 5, but contain nothing to connect it with P more than J.

### 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

נָבוֹר but three times in Gen., 10:8 J, v. 9 R, 6:4 J, besides in Hex. only D and Rd. הוּא נִשְׁבַּח besides only 4:4, 26; 27:31 in all the Hex. כּוֹשֵׁב in J only here, in precisely the same sense 36:43 P. שָׁפָה only here in Hex. in this sense; in P Ex. 6:12, 30. רָבִיבִים in P 34:18. לָשׁוֹן only ch. 10 in this sense in Hex.; in J Ex. 4:10; 11:7. מִקְדָּם in P Num. 34:11. בִּקְעָה here in J, nowhere in J. שָׁנַעַר once in J, twice in J. אִישׁ אֶל-רַעְוֹהוּ but once in J 48:33, and without אֶל 15:10; 31:49. It does not chance to occur

in P, though רָעָוָה does, Josh. 20:5. "P uses אִישׁ אֶל-אֶחָיו or אִישׁ אִישׁ"; but אִישׁ אִישׁ is restricted to legal sections and cannot therefore be expected in J, אִישׁ אֶחָיו in J Gen. 26:31; Ex. 16:15; Lev. 26:37 and perhaps Num. 14:4. הֵב here in J; in J only 38:16; 47:15, 16; Deut. 32:3. לִבְנָה (verb) לָבַן, לִבְנָה nowhere in J according to Dillmann; חָמַר and לִבְנָה in a verse of P, Ex. 1:14, but arbitrarily cut out and attributed to R. יָרַר does not happen to be used of God in P, but is implied in the

cloud and glory resting upon Sinai, Ex. 24:16, 17, and the tabernacle, 40:34 sqq., as well as in God's *going up* from Abraham, 17:22. "P makes God *appear*," so does J, Gen. 12:7; 17:1; 18:1, etc. **הָאֵלֹהִים** here in J, only once in J, Deut. 32:8. **זָכַר** nowhere in J. **כִּוְלָדָת** in 11:28 belongs to P (so Dill., Well.) and has precisely the same sense as in 12:1. **אָמַר** in P 86:9 (Dill.), **אָמַר** P 86:30, see also vs. 10,40. **עָקְרָהּ** in P 11:30 (Dill. and Well.). **וְלָרַח** only here. **נָדַל** in P, Num. 6:5.

We have now examined in detail every word and phrase alleged as characteristic of P or J, and are certainly justified in saying that the argument of diversity from this source has been immensely exaggerated. The great body of what is adduced is utterly irrelevant. The words occur so rarely as to be no criterion of a writer's ordinary diction, or they occur in the other document as well, or, if not, it is because there was no occasion for their employment. And when synonyms occur, they are used discriminately, as determined by the shade of meaning intended and not by the accidental habit of different writers. Such facts are of no significance whatever as respects the question of the existence of distinct documents. And if the long lists of words which we have scrutinized be purged of whatever is thus most satisfactorily explained, the residuum will be very small indeed, and scarcely worth considering but for an associated fact into which we now proceed to inquire, viz.,

#### The Alternation of Divine Names.

This is the starting-point from which the modern hypothesis of separable documents took its rise; and its concurrence with other criteria, which taken by themselves would be of small account, lends it whatever plausibility it possesses. The occurrence of Elohim and Jehovah in alternate sections in the first few chapters of Genesis is certainly very remarkable and plainly not accidental. There are some indications, though less distinct, of a like alternation in later chapters. But after Ex. ch. 3 or ch. 6 the name Jehovah comes into established predominance, and sections in which Elohim recurs with any marked frequency (such as Ex. 18:17-19; 18:1-7,12-27) are thenceforth extremely rare. It is quite natural, accordingly, to inquire whether these chapters, which are to some extent a turning-point in the use of these names, may not supply a key to what is peculiar in their antecedent employment.

The critics interpret Ex. 6:3 to mean that the name Jehovah was then first revealed to Moses, p. 31 (5), and had not been in use in the time of the patriarchs. They hence regard all prior sections containing the name Jehovah as in conflict with this statement, p. 36 (7. b), especially as Jehovah is used not only in the language of the writer himself but when he is reporting the words of those who lived long before Moses' time. Such sections, it is said, imply a different belief as to the origin and use of this sacred name, and must, therefore, be attributed to another writer, who held that it was known from the earliest periods and who has recorded his idea upon that subject, Gen. 4:26, p. 37 (9.c). But

1. It is plain that the Redactor did not so understand Ex. 6:3. After recording the history of the patriarchs, in which free use is made of the name Jehovah, he is here supposed to introduce the statement from the mouth of God himself that they had never heard this name, and thus to have stultified himself completely.

2. It is equally plain that it could not have been so intended. This passage finds its explanation in the repeated statement that Israel (Ex. 6:7; 10:2; 16:12; 29:46), the Egyptians (7:5; 14:4,18) and Pharaoh (7:17; 8:6,18; 9:14,29; cf. 5:2) should know that he was Jehovah; not that they should be told that this was his name, but that they should witness the manifestation of those attributes which the name denoted. That he was not so known by the patriarchs can only mean, therefore, that while tokens of his almighty power had been vouchsafed to them, no such disclosure had been made of the perfections indicated by his name Jehovah as was now to be granted to their descendants.

3. The uniform usage of Scripture proves the same thing. A true apprehension of the divine perfections and not a mere acquaintance with the word Jehovah is the constant meaning of the phrase "to know the name of Jehovah," 1 Kgs. 8:43; Ps. 9:11; 91:14; Isa. 52:6; 64:1; Jer. 16:21; Ezek. 39:6,7.

It is important to observe here precisely what these arguments prove, viz. that Ex. 6:3 was not written with an antiquarian interest or from an antiquarian point of view. It does not concern itself about the history of the word Jehovah and cannot with any fairness be regarded as affirming or denying anything about it. Its sole design is to declare that Jehovah was about to manifest himself in the character represented by this name as he had not done to the patriarchs. Since, then, the writer did not intend to assert that the word was unknown to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, there is no reason why in relating their history he might not consistently introduce this word in language uttered by them or addressed to them.

Neither, it should also be observed, was the patriarchal history written in the spirit of a verbal antiquary, so as to make a point of rigorously abstaining from employing any word not then in current use. The God of the patriarchs was the very same as Jehovah, and the writer might as properly use the dialect of his own time in speaking of him, as in reporting the language of the antediluvians, without thereby warranting the inference that he supposed Hebrew to have been at that period a current form of speech.

Whether the name Jehovah was ante-Mosaic is a legitimate subject of inquiry. But it is not answered categorically in the negative by Ex. 6:3, nor inferentially in the affirmative by the use of this word in the patriarchal history. That question lay out of the plane of the writer's thoughts in the one place as well as in the other, and no express utterance is made regarding it. Much less have contradictory answers been given to it. The inconsistency which the critics

affirm, does not exist. There is consequently no difficulty from this source in supposing that the author of Ex. 6:3 may likewise have penned the Jehovist sections in Genesis.

If we may take a suggestion from Ex. 6:3, it would be that different names of God have each their distinct and proper signification. And this inherent signification of the terms must be taken into the account, if any successful attempt is to be made to explain their usage. It is not here pretended that this principle will solve the entire problem of the employment of the divine names in Genesis. Limiting considerations and additional elements, which need not here be anticipated, will be found to enter into it hereafter. It is sufficient now to show from the passage at present under consideration, that the mechanical and superficial solution of two blended documents offered by the critics, does not really cover the case.

Gen. 4:26 is understood by the critics to affirm that in the belief of J the name Jehovah first came into use in the days of Enosh, the son of Seth, p. 87 (9. c). This accords very well with Eve's use of Elohim, 4:25, at the birth of Seth and in conversation with the serpent, 3:1-5, but not with her mention of Jehovah, 4:1, at the birth of Cain. Reuss says that the writer here contradicts himself. Dillmann can only evade the difficulty by a transposition of the text. All which simply proves that their interpretation of 4:26 is false. It fixes the origin not of the word Jehovah, but of the formal invocation of God, the institution of public worship.

The exceptional introduction of Elohim in chs. 2:4-4:26, a section mainly characterized by Jehovah, shows that these names are used discriminatingly within the same document. Elohim is substituted for Jehovah in the conversation with the serpent, 3:1-5, as elsewhere in language used by aliens or addressed to them, Gen. chs. 20, 21:22, 23. At first sight it seems strange that Cain should be accepted, 4:1, as a gift from Jehovah, and Seth, 4:25, from Elohim; but in the latter passage the contrast is between man and God, see Gesen. Lex., אֱלֹהִים, B. 1. Cain slew Abel, but God bestowed another in his stead.

A like discrimination in the use of the divine names is obvious as between this section as a whole and the preceding Elohim section, 1:1-2:3; God working in nature and in the world at large is Elohim. True, the creative act may be ascribed to Jehovah, Ex. 20:11, when the thought to be conveyed is that Israel's God, who brought him out of the land of Egypt, was the creator of the world; but when the announcement to be made simply is that the world had a divine creator, Elohim is the proper term and is hence used in ch. 1 and to the end of the first section. Jehovah is distinctively the God of revelation and of redemption; hence in the succeeding section, where God's grace to man is the prominent thought, his care and favor bestowed upon him in his original estate, the primal promise of mercy after the fall, and the goodness mingled with severity which

marked the whole ordering of his condition subsequently, Jehovah is the only proper term. While to make it plain that Jehovah is not a different or inferior deity, but that the God of grace is one with God the Creator, both names are combined, Jehovah Elohim, throughout chs. 2 and 3. Is this appropriate use of these terms merely a lucky accident and wholly undesigned, resulting from the combination of two independent documents, in each of which the names of God are regulated, not by their suitableness to the subject matter, but by the mere habit of the writer?

In ch. 5 the Elohim of v. 1 is adopted from 1:27, and the Jehovah of v. 29 from 3:17; cf. v. 14. The only other divine name in the chapter is Elohim in vs. 22,24. The phrase "walked with God," is used twice of Enoch and once of Noah, 6:9. As "man of God" is an established expression, while "man of Jehovah" never occurs, so we find "walk before Jehovah," Gen. 24:40, and "walk after Jehovah," Deut. 18:5, but never "walk with Jehovah;" only "walk with God," Mic. 6:8 (note the interchange of divine names in this verse). It is suggestive of the contrast between God and men, holy intercourse with God, not communion with the ungodly world, and so "God took him."

In chs. 6-9 there is an equal appropriateness in the use of the divine names. At the beginning and at the end both names occur in J paragraphs in an instructive manner. It is Jehovah who extends his grace to Noah while resolving to destroy the wicked world; at the same time usage calls for "sons of Elohim" rather than "sons of Jehovah," 6:1-8. Again in 9:26,27 Jehovah is the God of Shem, the father of the chosen race, but it is Elohim, the God of universal providence and of all mankind, who shall enlarge Japheth.

Throughout the narrative of the flood it is mostly Elohim that is used, because it is God the Creator destroying the works of his own hands, and the God of providence directing the preservation of the various species of living things in the ark and covenanting that all terrestrial creatures shall not be again destroyed by a deluge. It is only when the thought is more especially directed to the saving of Noah's pious house and of clean animals intended for sacrifice, that Jehovah is employed. Thus Jehovah bids them enter the ark, 7:1-5, and shuts them in, v. 16, and accepts Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22.

In chs. 10-12:5 it is Jehovah, the God of the chosen race, who calls Abram and gives him promises, 12:1 sqq. It is also Jehovah who, in the interest of his plan of grace and of his kingdom on earth, defeats the machinations of the builders of Babel, 11:1-9, and keeps his eye upon Nimrod, the founder of an empire which was the first embodiment of worldly power, 10:9.

This survey of the use of the divine names in the chapters under consideration supplies more than a negative argument. It not only shows that the alternation is readily explicable without the assumption of diverse documents, but it reveals a propriety in their employment which cannot be accidental, and never

could have resulted from piecing together documents independently conceived and written, in each of which one particular name was used irrespective of the subject treated. Whether a like propriety in the use of these names rules in the rest of Genesis or not, is for the present a matter of no concern. The method observable in their employment in the chapters before us, is a fact for which the document hypothesis cannot account.

#### The Divine Names and Language.

But though neither the language of these chapters nor the divine names regarded separately lend any support to the document hypothesis, possibly the case may be altered when they are taken together. It is claimed, p. 67, 2 (2), "that whenever Elohim is used, it is accompanied by a certain series of words, and that it is just so in the use of Yahweh." But really this is not so.

In the first Elohim section (1:1-2:3), of the words and phrases adduced as characteristic, some recur nowhere else in the Hexateuch, others nowhere else in Genesis, and others still in but one other narrative in Genesis, that of the flood, a theme closely related to that of the creation, and here they are found in both its P and J paragraphs. Beyond this there is scarcely a characteristic word or phrase which reappears in another P section of Genesis. The second so-called Elohim section, ch. 5, has, as it has been shown, no right to be so considered. Beyond a few expressions directly borrowed in equal measure from P and J sections, neither ch. 5 nor the kindred genealogy, 11:10-26, contain anything to ally them to any of the P sections.

The next Elohim section, that of the flood, is almost equally detached in point of language from all the succeeding P sections of Genesis. Of the words and phrases here adduced as characteristic a few recur in Gen. ch. 17;\* but beyond this scarcely one is to be found again in P in the rest of Genesis† (creation excepted), not as many, in fact, as reappear in J. In the so-called Elohist portion of chs. 10, 11 and 12:1-5 (though Elohim does not occur in it) there is not one word found elsewhere in P that is not also in J, except רכוש and the cognate verb רכש. The former of these occurs several times in ch. 14, which is universally held not to belong to P; and it is only excluded from E in another passage by critical jugglery.

\* The following are common to the flood and Gen. 17, viz., תמים 17:1; כררתיו nowhere else (לקים ברית 17:4; אני הננה) nowhere else in Gen. (אני הנני 17:7,9,12); לדרתיכם and לדרתם 17:7,19,21; עצם self-same, 17:23,26; כארד כארד 17:2,6,20 (J 30:43); כ distributive, 17:23; "with you and with your seed after you," 17:8,19, repeated with explicit allusion to this passage, 28:4; 35:12.

† But two are found in P elsewhere in Gen., viz., שחת of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, 19:21 P, repeatedly in J, נוע of the death of patriarchs, 25:8,17; 35:29; 49:33. צורה 21:4 has no significance, besides in Hex. only in J, Ex. 34:4. חיה wild beast only J and E, 37:20,33. נבר only J 49:26. ירק besides in Hex. only in J and E; "thou and thy sons and thy wife," etc., 6:18; cf. in J 19:12,16.

With such a state of facts it is the merest delusion for the critics to say that Elohim, wherever it occurs, is always accompanied by the same series of words. They have simply imposed upon themselves by lists of words which are in large part unmeaning, but from which superficial conclusions are drawn with no scrutiny of their real significance and value.

Add to this that in order to maintain their hypothesis the critics find it necessary to assume the existence of two Elohist documents, one of which is so closely related to J in style and conception and so intimately blended with it that it is always extremely difficult and sometimes quite impossible to separate them. This certainly has the appearance of an evasion, which is equivalent to an indirect confession of the futility of the entire hypothesis. We are first told that the text of Genesis must be divided with reference to the names Elohim and Jehovah; and the style and diction of P and J are inferred from the paragraphs respectively assigned to them. We proceed further in the analysis, and lo! Elohim perversely occurs where the criteria of P made out from the early chapters will no longer apply. The critics tell us that this must be a second Elohist. It will be incumbent, however, upon them to make it very plain that the second Elohist is not simply an exigency of their own hypothesis; otherwise it can only be accepted as a reluctant admission that the criteria previously laid down for P are false.

#### **The Divine Names and Theology.**

It is further claimed that if "we divide these chapters into two divisions simply on the basis of the use of the divine names," we shall discover "that each division has its own peculiar and widely different conception of God, etc.," p. 67. 2 (5). If Elohim and Jehovah are words of different signification, and represent the Most High under different aspects of his being, as they manifestly do, they must when used correctly and with regard to their proper meaning, be associated with different conceptions of God. This will not argue a diversity of writers, but simply that the divine name has each time been selected in accordance with the idea to be expressed.

Elohim is the more general and so to speak abstract designation of God as the creator and providential governor of the world at large and of the whole collective mass of mankind. Jehovah is his personal name and that by which he has made himself known when entering into close relations with men, and particularly the chosen race, as the God of revelation and the God of grace. Hence result these three consequences:

1. This intimacy of relationship involves a condescension to man and placing himself in accord with man, which requires anthropomorphisms for its expression and can be made intelligible in no other way.

2. It is to God as Jehovah that man pays his worship; so that when altars and sacrifice and invocation are spoken of, Jehovah is the term proper to be used.

3. It is Jehovah who has established his kingdom amongst men, and who is directing the course of that kingdom so as to further his gracious designs. It is naturally to be expected, therefore, that the unfolding of these plans and opening prophetic glimpses into his designs will be attributed to Jehovah rather than Elohim.

If now the various propositions in which the theology of P and of J are set forth with not a little iteration, be relieved of their exaggerations and inaccuracies and corrected into accordance with the text from which they are professedly drawn, it will be found that they cover just what, as has now been shown, the difference of the divine names calls for; just that and nothing more.

Why God's speaking in the first person plural is "strictly monotheistic" in P 1:26, p. 29 (1), but "not so rigidly" so in J 3:22; 11:7, p. 30 (1), others may be able to explain; I cannot. It is not commonly supposed that God is any the less "an infinite being" for working with means of his own creation, p. 30 (2), than when he works without them. J speaks (2:4) of "Jehovah God's making earth and heaven" with no suggestion of any material. Forming the body of man (2:7) of dust, into which for his sin it was to be again resolved (3:19), and Eve from the rib of Adam (2:22 sqq.) in token of the oneness of their being, demanded as real an exercise of divine power as bidding the earth to bring forth grass and living creatures, 1:12,24. Why Jehovah "causing a strong east wind to blow in order to bring locusts (Ex. 10:13,19), or to drive back the sea (Ex. 14:21)" J, p. 30 (2), is a result brought about "by natural means," when God's making "a wind to pass over the earth and the waters assuaged," 8:1, P, is not "a natural event," but "the fiat of almighty power," p. 50 (5), I do not see. For an illustration of the difficulty which the critics create for themselves on this point, together with a professed answer in which the difficulty is simply ignored, see p. 58 (2).

If no one has "attempted to reconcile ch. 2" with "modern science," p. 30 (2), it cannot be because there was any difficulty in doing it. The chronological arrangement of ch. 1 presents a basis of comparison with geological discoveries which is wanting in the topical arrangement of ch. 2. But man's spiritual kinship with God, and the composition of his body from materials furnished by the inorganic matter of the earth (2:7), his absolute superiority of nature to the brute creation, 2:20, and the inviolability of the marriage relation, 2:24, are the lessons of the chapter; and science may dispute them if it can.

If in J "man is on free and even confidential terms with God," p. 30 (3), this belongs appropriately to Jehovah, as the condescending God of grace who permits and invites men to "come boldly" unto him, Heb. 4:16. But how is it in P, 5:22; 6:9, where Enoch and Noah "walked with God," and 17:18,22, when Abraham talked with God until "God went up from" him, just as in J Jehovah came down from heaven, 11:5; 18:21, and visited men, 18:1 sqq., though all the while in heaven, 19:24? And how is it that "walking with God" is a

“ phrase which in J would be meaningless,” p. 38 (4), when “ walking before Jehovah ” is the phrase by which Abraham’s pious life is described, 24:40 ? The irony with which, 3:22, the words of the tempter, 3:5, are repeated as fulfilled in a disastrous sense, does not imply that man had gained a “ superhuman attribute ” by eating the forbidden fruit, p. 30 (4). Cain’s fear is not that “ Jehovah cannot protect him,” 4:14, but that he will not. The angel disabled Jacob’s thigh by a touch, 32:25, not “ because he was likely to prevail,” but to show him how impotent he really was. The suggestion respecting 3:8 and 2:21, p. 31 (5), is too trivial for a serious reply. If “ in 11:5 ; 18:20–22 God is represented as resorting to personal inspection to ascertain something of which he is ignorant,” the same is the case in Ps. 14:2 and even in Ps. 139:23,24, where it is attached to the most exalted description in human language of the omnipresence and the omniscience of the infinite God. There is not the slightest inconsistency between the anthropomorphisms of J and the lofty conceptions of P. They abound alike in the Psalms and are freely intermingled in their devout utterances. With one breath the Psalmist speaks of God as knowing the secrets of the heart, 44:22, and with the next calls upon him “ Awake, why sleepest thou ? ” v. 24.

It should be observed further that P has his anthropomorphisms likewise, and that even in ch. 1 with all its grandeur and simplicity. Each creative fiat is uttered in human language, 1:3,6 sqq. God “ called the light אור,” 1:5, giving Hebrew names to that and various other objects. He “ saw the light that it was good ” 1:4, thus inspecting the work of each day and pronouncing upon its quality. He uttered a formula of blessing upon the various orders of living things, 1:22,28. He deliberated with himself prior to the creation of man, 1:26. Man was made “ in the image of God,” an expression which has been wrested to imply a material form. Time was spent upon the work ; and this was parceled into six successive days like so many working periods of men. When the work was done, God rested on the seventh day, 2:2 ; and thus the week was completed, again a human measure of time. All this is anthropomorphic. He who would speak intelligently to finite comprehension of the infinite God, must use anthropomorphisms. The difference after all is not of kind but of degree.

The statement is repeatedly made that according to P sacrifices had no existence before the time of Moses, p. 38 (2 and 4), 50 (3), 51 (3). This is altogether unwarranted. No affirmation of the sort is made in any section attributed to P ; nor is any declaration made that is inconsistent with the prior existence of sacrifices. The whole truth in the case is that Jehovah, being the personal name of God and the name under which he is worshiped, this name is preferably employed when sacrifice is mentioned or alluded to ; so that the absence of reference to sacrifice in Elohim sections is sufficiently accounted for. And yet Elohim directs Abraham to offer Isaac as a burnt-offering, 22:2 sqq., and Jacob offers sacrifices to Elohim, 46:1. If the critics refer these to a second Elohist, because

P never mentions sacrifice; and then argue that P never mentions sacrifice, since these passages belong to E and not to P, is not that a circular style of reasoning?

Besides, the existence of sacrifice is implied, as before suggested, in the prohibition of eating blood, 9:4. And it is well worthy of consideration whether it is not also implied in the rite of circumcision, 17:10 sqq. If this be, as Ewald supposes, in its original idea, "a blood-offering," it shows a familiarity with the conception of expiation by the shedding of blood, out of which it sprung. Or if it be explained with Schultz,\* as "a consecration of the life to God by a painful and bloody purification," it at least involves the idea of the clean and unclean and purgation by blood.

Argument would be easier and more satisfactory, if random remarks were avoided, and nothing imputed to the writers of Scripture which is not in their words either explicitly or by fair implication. In addition to corrections previously made, p. 38 (3) has no foundation in the original record: "J seems to think that Cain should have had more knowledge than he exhibits. He should have known that Yahweh prefers a bloody offering." This neither agrees with (2) immediately above, nor with the reason given for the rejection of Cain's offering, 4:7. "He favors those who dwell in tents and have cattle, and looks with suspicion on the man of the field"; how does this agree with Adam being referred for his subsistence to "the herb of the field," 3:18, and "the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle," 4:20, being traced to the apostate line of Cain? And where does J express any opinion about "the Rechabite"? or object to "sowing or reaping," cf. 26:12; 27:27,28? or to "agriculture," which is contemplated in every promise of the land of Canaan and implied in the legislation attributed to J, Ex. 34:18 sqq.? or show any disposition to "cling to the old pastoral life," whereas the sentence pronounced upon the people for their sin, Num. 14:33 J (Heb.), is "Your children shall be shepherds in the wilderness forty years"?

#### Diversity of Style.

The stately account of the creation, ch. 1, is compared with the narrative that follows chs. 2,3, pp. 25-27; or the genealogy from Adam to Noah, ch. 5, with the story of Cain and Abel, ch. 4, pp. 33,34, and the conclusion is drawn that P is chronological, statistical, stereotyped and repetitious, while J is free and flowing, vivid and picturesque. With the same propriety a bill presented by a merchant to his customer might be compared with a letter written to his wife and diversity of authorship inferred, because one deals in dates and figures and business forms and the other in easy flowing sentences. If two narratives of like character be compared with fairness and candor, the alleged diversities will disappear. It is curious to observe how different critics vary in their judgment respecting style, showing that a subjective element enters largely into their opinions. Thus Eich-

\**Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 401.

horn\* holds a very different view of these writers from that suggested above. In his opinion P in ch. 1 exhibits high art and a carefully arranged and admirably executed plan; every word is so nicely weighed that the same formulæ can be used successively in the various scenes which he portrays. J in chs. 2,3, is a less skillful and practiced writer.

The only section in which there is a reasonable opportunity for a comparison of style is that of the flood. And a moment's examination will show that the judgment passed upon it (p. 45) is purely subjective, not elicited from the passage itself, but obtruded upon it. The style of P is said to be

"(1) Characterized by a systematic arrangement of material, as is seen in (a) the introduction, 'These are the generations,' etc. [it has been shown that this belongs not to the P sections in particular, but to the plan of the book in its completed form]; (b) the five months of increase of flood; (c) the five months of decrease [but compare the forty days, 7:4,12, and forty days, 8:6; the seven days, 7:4,10, and seven days, 8:10,12]; (d) the gradual leading up to the Noachic covenant (9:1-17) [but compare the preparation (7:2,3,8) for the sacrifice, 8:20] the law of bloodshed which is given in such detail as to show that it is a point of greatest importance in the writer's mind [but compare what is said, p. 39 (4), of J's presentation of the guilt of the murderer]; (e) the return to the formula of ch. 5 in 9:28,29 [as already shown the history of the flood is simply inserted in the body of the genealogy; having completed the former, he again takes up the latter where he left it]."

"(2) Is minute, chronological, scientific, as seen in (a) the calculation of the age of Noah, 7:6,11 [v. 6 is enclosed in a J paragraph and only cut out and assigned to P because of this calculation; v. 11 adjoins a J paragraph and might just as easily have been attached to it, if the critics had chosen], 9:28,29 [already explained]; (b)-(h) [7:1 implies a previous mention of the ark. If J is an independent and continuous document, it must have given an account of the ark which has been omitted. Where is the evidence that this was less detailed and minute?]; (i) the rigid classification in 6:18; 7:13 [exactly the same in 7:7, the reference of which to R is mere evasion]; (j) the classes of animals in 6:20, etc. [so 6:7; 7:8, 23; in v. 23 the enumeration is transferred to P, though it carries with it *ימחו* claimed as a criterion of J, p. 46 (3)]; (k) the use of *זכר ונקבה, למינו, למשפחותיהם*, etc. [previously explained: "male and female" in J 7:3,9]; (l) the trouble taken to declare the absolute universality of the flood [the evidence adduced in the note is 7:19-23, and the words attributed to J in these verses are as sweeping and universal as the rest. "The high mountains under the whole heaven," v. 19, by any reasonable principle of interpretation mean neither the Andes nor the Himalayas, but all within the scope of Noah's vision and perhaps

\* *Repertorium für Bibl. und Morgenlind. Literatur*, part 4, pp. 187,174.

the writer's knowledge. The flood was universal enough to accomplish its purpose, 6:7. The way in which it was brought about is explained 7:11,12. The ocean rushed in upon the land in consequence no doubt of the subsidence of the latter, and torrents poured down from the skies. At length the flow of the ocean ceased and its waters retreated (8:2) from the emergence of the land. All is in harmony with geologic laws and admitted facts]; (m) the legal phraseology of 9:4-8 [previously explained]."

And all the rest that is adduced on this subject is of the same nature.

#### CONCLUSION.

The matter contained in the sections respectively attributed to J and to P in the chapters now under consideration, is on p. 65 summed up under nine heads practically identical in both and treated in the same order. Such a remarkable correspondence throughout makes it impossible to conceive that these represent two entirely independent documents. The discrepancies and contradictions alleged to prove diversity of authorship do not exist; and if they did, they would make the work of the Redactor inconceivable. There is not a duplicate account of the creation, nor of the line of descent from Adam to the existing race of mankind, nor of the deluge. There are no such differences of language between the sections of J and P, as require the assumption of a diversity of writers. The alternation of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah can be explained without that assumption. The alleged difference of style is factitious. The difference in theological conceptions is linked with the signification and usage of Elohim and Jehovah, the selection of the name having been made (so far as we have yet gone) in accordance with the thought to be conveyed, and so far from the same series of words being invariably attendant upon Elohim and Jehovah respectively, the characteristic P expressions in the account of the creation and the deluge are conspicuously absent from every other P section in Genesis, except ch. 17, the covenant of circumcision with Abraham.

If the current critical hypothesis has any ground to rest upon in Gen. 1:1-12:5, we have not been able to find it. The "grave doubts" of Prof. Reuss, the venerable father of this hypothesis in its present form (*Geschichte d. A. T.*, p. 255), whether any of the sections attributed to the work of the Jehovist prior to Gen. 12, really belonged to it, have been confirmed by our examination. Whether any thing after Gen. 12 belonged to it, must be a matter for future inquiry.

The present article has not been written in the interest of any particular hypothesis of the origin of Genesis. No hypothesis on that subject has been propounded or defended. We have simply inquired into the strength of the arguments adduced in favor of the solution offered by the critics, and have found them wanting. We are conscious of no antecedent bias against a critical analysis of the Book of Genesis, and its partition among different writers, if

that can be fairly established. No prejudice need thence arise against Moses being the author or at least the editor of the book. The remark p. 70 (6) is certainly over-hasty: "If there is an analysis, even these chapters furnish enough to show that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; for, *if Gen. 1-12 was written long after Moses' death*, it is presumable that the other portions of the Hexateuch which follow and connect with these chapters belong also to a later date." Not a word has yet been said tending to establish the hypothetical clause italicized above. No argument urged in favor of the analysis of Genesis would affect the question of its Mosaic composition, but such as are inconsistent with the honesty or capacity of the Redactor, and those are suicidal to the hypothesis itself.

If now, without positively committing ourselves at this stage of the discussion, the facts thus far developed may be allowed to shape themselves in the direction of some definite issue, may it not be said that the present indications seem to favor something like the old Vitrunga hypothesis? Moses was in possession of some ancient genealogical registers, preserved among his people from their ancestors. And the alternation of יְלֵךְ and יְהוֹלִיךְ may possibly, as Kurtz\* long ago suspected, be traceable to the varying forms of expression in these old registers. Besides this the story of the creation and the flood and the covenant with Abraham, ch. 17, seem to be bound together by their diction in a very peculiar manner. These great outstanding facts, whether reduced to writing or gaining a fixed form by oral repetition, filled the soul of the ardent young Hebrew, as they were read to him or told to him in his boyhood by his mother or the men of his nation. And these old stories shine through his narrative, just as his Egyptian training shines out in his laws, without its being possible in either case to exactly reproduce by a critical process from what he has written, just what he had heard or had been taught.

The peculiar use of the divine names in Genesis points likewise to the same conclusion. It finds its only adequate explanation not in the mechanical assumption of the blending of two documents representing different ideas of the origin of the name Jehovah, but of one writer standing at the point of transition from the old to the new, himself the leader in that great crisis in which this sacred name assumed a prominence and gained a fullness of meaning unknown before, and to whom its significance had been unfolded by the Lord himself. Genesis

\* *Die Einheit der Genesis* (Berlin, 1846), p. 32. I cannot too strongly recommend this masterly treatise to those who are studying the critical partition of the Pentateuch. The supplementary hypothesis was then in vogue and its arguments are specially directed against it; but they are equally valid against any other form of critical division. The distinguished author was unfortunately induced subsequently to accept a compromise, proposed with the best intentions, which yielded the direct Mosaic authorship, but insisted on the substantially Mosaic character of the contents of the Pentateuch. The subsequent course of Pentateuch criticism in Germany has shown that this was a mistake. If evangelical critics in that country had stood upon the line of defense so ably drawn out by Kurtz, and made their advances from it, they would occupy a far stronger position and maintain a more hopeful attitude than they do at present.

reflects a time prior to that in which this name had practically superseded every other appellation of the Most High, and was habitually used of the true God in every aspect of his being. It is employed with nice discrimination, and by one who, while he delights to trace Israel's covenant God in even the first buddings of his scheme of grace and through all its successive stages, is at the same time near enough to the patriarchal age to have had some of the divine transactions, by which it was characterized, traditionally conveyed to him in the exact form in which they originally took place.

One word, in closing, as to "Hasisadra," p. 62. There are striking points of correspondence between the deluge tablets and the Bible narrative which have their interest and importance. But only he can consistently maintain that the latter is borrowed from the former, who fancies that genuine coin is an attempted imitation of the spurious, and that pure drugs were originated as rivals of the adulterated article. My own private opinion on the subject corresponds with that of Zophar, the Naamathite, respecting the Darwinian hypothesis. When he would say in the most emphatic manner that a thing is impossible, he says that it may take place "when a wild ass's colt is born a man," Job 11:12.\*

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#### ERRATA.

On p. 138, the first half of the seventh line from the bottom ought to read, "but on the conjectures of the critics." So in copy.

On p. 157, in the second line of the second column of small type, it will be readily seen that ורכו should be ורכו.

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\* The second article by Professor Harper will be published in the July number of *HEBRAICA*.

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## THE STORY OF ARSÂNÎS.

BY PROF. ISAAC H. HALL,

Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

I lately received from Oroomia a Syriac manuscript, copied recently from an older document in the mission library there, which is full of interesting legendary and other matter. The whole fills sixty-two pages of sermon-paper size, eighteen lines to the page, in good Nestorian script pretty fully pointed. It contains:

(1) "Narrative of Moses the Approved in Prophecy," a colloquy of Moses with God in Mount Sinai.

(2) "The Letter of Holy Sunday that Descended from Heaven upon the Hands of Mar Athanasius Patriarch of the Romans; which is the Third Letter;" which is the legend of which I published a text in an article in the last Journal of the American Oriental Society; but it is an entirely different recension or narration, is assigned to a different date, and is every way worthy of publication.

(3) The Martyrdom of Mar George.

(4) "The Narrative of the Father Arsânîs [*i. e.* Arsenius] King of Egypt, and how our Lord, to whom be glory, Raised him to life."

(5) Sundry shorter compositions, chiefly prayers and exorcisements.

Of these compositions, the first and fourth I do not know of elsewhere in Syriac, though they appear to exist in Karshûn, as follows: the first (and the second also) in 7209 Rich, Brit. Mus.; see Rosen and Forshall, Cat., 109-111; compare Wright, Cat. III. 1309; the first and the fourth in Sachau, 7. 4, 15; and the fourth in Sachau, "Alter Bestand" 57 (Pet. I. 24).

I present here the text and a translation of the fourth of these compositions from the above manuscript in my possession. In the text I omit the points generally, as unnecessary; and for a like reason I omit lengthy comment. The

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. II. GEN. 12:6-37:1.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

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### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In resuming the discussion of the divisive hypothesis in its application to the Book of Genesis, a brief statement may be made at the outset of the attitude taken and the positions which it is believed can be successfully established.

1. The hypothesis that the Pentateuch as a whole or Genesis in particular is made up of documents originally distinct, but which have been woven together in their present form by a Redactor, has no external support whatever. There is no intimation in any quarter that such documents ever existed, or that a composite origin was ever attributed to the Pentateuch or to any part of it. The burden of proof lies wholly upon those who affirm the existence of these documents; and the proof demanded should be clear and convincing in proportion to the revolutionary character of the hypothesis and the gravity of the consequences deduced from it.

2. The criteria relied upon to establish the hypothesis are precarious to the last degree. The chances of error in effecting the analysis multiply with every step of the process, while there is no possibility of verifying the results. Under these circumstances one may be pardoned for hesitating to accept conclusions, however confidently put forth, respecting the precise share of several different writers otherwise unknown, in what is assumed to have been their joint production.

3. The harmony and continuity of the history and the clear evidences of a plan consistently pursued throughout, which has shaped the whole from first to last, and into which every separate portion enters as a component part, positively exclude the idea that Genesis is made up of selections from independent documents separately conceived and written.

In entering upon the examination of a new section of Genesis we are entitled to assume the results previously reached in the portion already traversed. Every argument adduced by critics for the first eleven chapters has been carefully, and, I think it may be said, candidly examined, and found to be inconclusive. And as the early chapters of Genesis have always been regarded as the stronghold of the hypothesis, the part to which it can with most plausibility be applied, and where, if anywhere, its truth can be established, our experience has only tended to increase our distrust of both the methods and the results, which have thus far been

found to be arbitrary and fallacious. At the very least it may be claimed, that so far as we have been able to discover, no presumption arises in favor of the critical partition of Genesis from chs. 1-11. Is there any more reason for accepting the partition in the chapters that follow? This is the question to which we now address ourselves.

#### The Divine Names.

The alternate use of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah in successive sections of Genesis first suggested the critical partition of the book upon this basis. The radical assumption has been that different writers respectively characterized by the employment of one or other of these terms for God, could alone account for the phenomena. Other considerations have been held to corroborate this, such as the alleged continuity of P and J sections respectively, and certain characteristics of style and thought, which it is claimed, are peculiar to each. Nevertheless the alternation of the divine names remains the corner-stone of the critical edifice in all its forms. In the recent refinements of the hypothesis and attempts to render the analysis more subtle and searching, increased stress has been laid on the collateral supports, and many discriminations are made, which rest on them alone. But the divine names are, after all, the starting point of the hypothesis and that upon which it ultimately reposes. It is upon this basis and within the limits of sections thus determined, that the first steps have to be taken toward gathering other criteria of P or J, and whatever plausibility these possess, is due to the alleged fact that they are peculiar to sections characterized by one particular name. The divine names are thus cardinal and fundamental to the hypothesis, while all beside is secondary and subsidiary.

It is accordingly of prime importance in this discussion to ascertain whether the manner, in which the divine names are employed in Genesis, lends any real support to the hypothesis. We have already seen that in Genesis, chs. 1-11, they are used appropriately and significantly, and in a manner to indicate intelligent use by a writer, alive to their distinctive meaning, rather than the accidental result of blending two distinct writings. The same is the case in the section of Genesis now before us, chs. 12-36; the divine names there found do not justify critical partition, for

1. In several instances the name Jehovah occurs where it cannot be made to conform to the hypothesis, and the critics are obliged to rid themselves of it by arbitrarily changing the text, or calling in the aid of the Redactor. This is the more remarkable because it is a ruling principle with the critics to adjust their sections into harmony with the divine names, so that the occurrence of Elohim or of Jehovah *ipso facto* determines the document to which any given passage must be assigned. And yet, in the cases referred to, "Jehovah" is found in such connections that adherence to this rule becomes impracticable.

1) In ch. 14:22 Jehovah occurs in combination with El Elyon and in a passage universally regarded by the critics as not belonging to J and which some of them hesitatingly attribute to E. Here they have no resource but to eject "Jehovah" from the text, though the appropriateness and significance of the name in the connection confirm its genuineness. Abram's God is the same that Melchizedek worshiped, v. 19, with the addition of the special name, by which he was known to the chosen race. The omission of Jehovah from a few MSS. of the LXX. and from the Peshitto, to which Dillmann appeals, is doubtless due to transcribers conforming v. 22 to v. 19. That it is of no critical significance is plain from the fact that the LXX. repeatedly depart from the Hebrew text of Genesis in regard to the divine names, where the latter is clearly correct and universally conceded to be so.

2) The first chapter, in which Elohim is found, ch. 17, begins v. 1, "Jehovah appeared unto Abram." This identical expression occurs 12:7; 18:1; 26:2,24; and the accuracy of the text is further confirmed by Ex. 6:2,3, a passage of which the critics make great account. Yet because it is here inconsistent with their hypothesis, and for no other reason Jehovah is expunged and Elohim substituted for it.

3) The next chapter in which Elohim occurs with any frequency is ch. 20. But here again Jehovah has intruded itself in an unwelcome manner, v. 18, and the verse is summarily declared not to belong to this section in its original form, but to be a subsequent addition by R.

4) Ch. 21:1, Jehovah occurs in two successive clauses identical in signification. This is in violation of a critical dictum, of which extensive use is made, that repetitions of the same thought are indicative of distinct writers. Jehovah is accordingly erased in the second clause, Elohim is put in its place, and the clause is then attached to the latter end of the following sentence, which for other critical reasons has to be split in two. And by this sort of jugglery a sentence is manufactured for P out of parts of two distinct sentences, with a sentence of J thrust into the middle of it, and a shift is thus made, as will be pointed out hereafter, to evade certain other critical embarrassments, which could not be escaped by a less violent procedure.

5) In ch. 22 Elohim dominates. But in v. 2 it is necessary to get rid of "Moriah," since this name is a compound with Jehovah as one of its elements; though the critics are sorely puzzled to find a substitute, neither Moreh (Tuch), Hamorites (invented by Wellhausen in the sense of Shechemites on the basis of Gen. 33:19), nor Amorite (Dillmann) have gained acceptance. The eminent appropriateness of the temple mountain as the scene of Abraham's sacrifice is freely conceded by those, whose critical prepossessions compel them to regard it as a late interpolation. Consistency next obliges them to expunge v. 14 with its twice repeated "Jehovah" and its double allusion to the name Moriah. Further

in v. 11, "Jehovah" is erased and "Elohim" substituted, because the hypothesis requires it. For the same reason vs. 15-18 with its two-fold "Jehovah," though an essential part of the narrative, which manifestly lacks completeness without it, is magisterially declared to be an interpolation, the critics not being at one upon the question whether it is borrowed from a parallel account by J or is a free addition by R.

6) Again in 28:21 Jehovah inconveniently occurs in an Elohim connection, and the critics have no resource but to throw it out of the text as an interpolation, though by doing so they destroy the structure of the sentence. Verse 22 may very properly continue the apodosis begun by יהוה in the rejected clause, but from the collocation of the words cannot introduce the apodosis, to which nevertheless it of necessity belongs. So at least Dillmann affirms.

2. The assumption that the names Elohim and Jehovah are indicative of distinct writers, inevitably leads to the parcelling of closely connected narratives and even of single sentences in a manner that is quite incredible. Thus :

1) In the sacrifice of Isaac the narrative has Elohim until the critical moment when Abraham takes the knife to slay his son, v. 10; but it is the angel of Jehovah, who arrests his hand and rewards his obedience by renewed promises of blessing more solemnly confirmed than ever before, vs. 11-18. Each of these portions presupposes the other and is unmeaning and incomplete without it. Astruc, Eichhorn and Gramberg are, however, consistent enough to assign vs. 1-10 to the Elohist and vs. 11 sqq. to the Jehovist, though Gramberg evidently felt the difficulty of the case; for he admits that it is quite impossible to account for such a close mutual correspondence of paragraphs taken from distinct treatises without the assumption that the compiler, instead of transcribing them verbatim, has adapted them to one another. So serious is this difficulty in fact that Tuch and all subsequent critics here shrink from the application of their own criteria and resort instead to an arbitrary change of text, as already explained in 1, 4).

2) In like manner Jacob's lying down to sleep and dreaming of the ladder with ascending and descending angels, 28:11,12, is referred to the Elohist, while Jehovah's address to him from the summit of it and Jacob's awaking out of sleep is given to the Jehovist, vs. 13-16, and the attempt is made by sundering the second portion from the first to give it a different meaning from that which it must necessarily have in its present connection, thus gratuitously charging the Redactor with perverting its sense, which not only makes the narrative in its existing form untrustworthy but destroys the basis on which they rest their own conclusions.

3) A yet more remarkable piece of patchwork is found in the account given of the birth of Jacob's children, 29:31-30:24. The story of the birth of Leah's first four sons is taken from J, of her next two from E, of Bilhah's two sons from E, or rather partly from E and partly from J as is inferred from other criteria

additional to the divine names, of Zilpah's two from J only, of Rachel's eldest son Joseph from P, J and E, all of whom conspire in constructing one sentence, 30:22, and finally of Rachel's youngest son Benjamin, 35:16-18, from JE, which means that the critics are unable to decide whether it is from J or E, or that these are so inextricably involved that it is impossible to separate them.

Further illustrations are unnecessary. Now, how paragraphs drawn from independent sources happen to fit together so exactly and to read as though written continuously by the same hand, or why a sensible Redactor should have constructed these and similar narratives in such a piecemeal fashion, it is difficult to understand.

3. It adds to the complication of the critical hypothesis, and creates a fresh demand for clear proofs of its reality, that it has been found necessary to assume two Elohist, one prior to Gen. 20, the other forming the great bulk of the Elohim sections from that to the end of the book. The criteria of Elohist and Jehovist gathered from the early part of Genesis prove inapplicable except in rare instances in the subsequent portion. This naturally engenders the suspicion that the criteria derived from the opening chapters are too hasty a generalization, based on insufficient data and falsified by the chapters that follow. Jehovah sections in the first of Genesis contain words and phrases and ideas, which it is claimed are peculiar to them and not found in contiguous Elohim sections. We continue our examination a few pages further and the alleged peculiarities of the Jehovist are repeated in Elohim sections to such a degree that no discrimination can be made between them but with the utmost difficulty. The natural conclusion would seem to be that this annuls the distinction between the Elohist and the Jehovist. This is evaded by claiming that there are two Elohist. If this is not to be regarded as a mere evasion, adequate proof must be given of their separate existence.

Igen's grotesque sundering of two Elohist met no acceptance, and there is reason to believe that it was abandoned by the author himself.\* Hupfeld's later attempt in the same direction was carried through with great ingenuity but with an immense amount of hypercriticism. It was repelled at first as a retrograde movement.† But the sudden ascendancy of the revolutionary criticism which made P not the primary basis, but the latest constituent of Genesis and the Pentateuch, and so rendered the supplementary hypothesis impossible, led to the eager welcoming of Hupfeld's discovery of the separate and independent existence of J and E.

4. It is further to be borne in mind that it is only to a very inconsiderable extent that critical sections are determined by the divine names. Elohist and Jehovist sections and paragraphs are claimed without the occurrence of the corresponding divine name in either, and the limits of sections are very largely

\* F. H. Ranke, *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, I., p. 258, note.

† Delitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis*, 3d edition, p. 42.

\*4

regulated by the sole pleasure of the critic. It is evident that a very wide door is thus opened for the admission of purely subjective considerations, and the criteria of Elohist and Jehovist so ascertained may easily be factitious and arbitrary, being dependent on adjustments made by the critics.

5. The divine names of the Book of Genesis do not require for their explanation the hypothesis of different writers; nor is the complexity of the subject relieved by such a hypothesis. On the contrary it adds seriously to the embarrassments and the difficulties of the case. General biblical usage discriminates between **אלהים** and **יהוה** in a manner corresponding to the character and the signification of these names. In some connections Elohim is the only appropriate term, in others Jehovah, and in others still either is admissible. The employment of the divine names in Genesis can be satisfactorily explained, if the same liberty is allowed there that is observable in other books of the Bible or even in the so-called J sections of Genesis itself. An attempt will be made to show this hereafter in detail. It is, however, explicitly conceded by Tuch,\* who nevertheless objects that this still leaves unexplained the limitation of each of these names to special sections having a peculiar diction and range of ideas, as well as the continuity of the Elohim sections. He was unable to find a like continuity in the J sections, though later critics claim to have discovered it, and to have discovered likewise that the Elohim sections which he thought homogeneous and continuous are really neither, but are made up of two dissimilar and wholly independent constituents P and E. We proceed to examine whether there is such a continuity in either of these classes of sections or such peculiarities of thought and language as warrant the acceptance of the divisive hypothesis in any of its forms.

#### SEC. 5. GEN. 12:6-17:27.

##### A. The Divine Names.

The name Jehovah is used throughout chs. 12-16; Elohim does not occur until ch. 17, where it is found repeatedly and with the exception of v. 1 exclusively. These names are in every instance used appropriately and with evident design. The alternation is so significant and grows so directly out of the circumstances of the case and the whole plan of the history, that it cannot possibly be the accidental result of blending together separate Elohist and Jehovist documents.

Jehovah is the name by which the God of the chosen race is distinctively known. It is accordingly Jehovah who bids Abram leave his kindred and his father's house, 12:1,4, with the promise to multiply his seed and to give him Canaan, 12:2,7; 13:14-17, to whom Abram erected altars in this land and paid his worship, 12:7,8; 13:4,18, who guarded Sarai, Abram's wife, 12:17, who noted and would punish the guilty occupants of the promised land, 13:10,18; 15:16, to whom Abram appealed as the universal sovereign, 14:22, who appeared to Abram,

\* *Commentar über die Genesis*, 2d edition, p. xxxvii.

12:7, spake to him, 12:1,4,7; 13:14; ch. 15, and covenanted with him, 15:18, whom Sarai recognized as directing all that affected her, 16:2,5, who cared for Hagar as a member of Abram's family, 16:7 sqq., though in the mouth of this Egyptian maid, 16:13, as well as in the name of her son, 16:11,15, we find not Jehovah but El. The critics profess to find fragments of P in these chapters, but by what lucky accident has it occurred that Elohim does not once appear in any such fragment to break the constant regularity with which Jehovah is introduced as guiding, blessing and guarding Abram and all that belongs to him, and as the object of his worship? How comes it to pass that Elohim is thus steadfastly reserved for ch. 17, where it is as plainly demanded by the situation, as Jehovah had been in all that preceded?

But, it may be asked, is it not still Jehovah, the God of the chosen race, who enters into covenant with Abraham and who establishes circumcision as the seal of that covenant and the perpetual badge of the covenant people? It is Jehovah, who appears to Abram and engages in this solemn transaction with him, as is expressly declared v. 1. The critics here dispute the genuineness of the word "Jehovah" for no other reason than that it conflicts with their hypothesis. The text bears intrinsic evidence of correctness as it stands. Jehovah announces himself as the Almighty God, and the reason for this is obvious. The promise of a numerous seed made to Abram at the outset had been repeated from time to time for four and twenty years, and there had been as yet no indication of its fulfilment. Meanwhile in his advancing age and that of Sarai, all natural hope of offspring had vanished. The time has now come when his persistent faith shall be rewarded. The promise is on the eve of accomplishment. Nature has failed, but the divine omnipotence is all sufficient. Isaac shall be born the next year; and in anticipation of this event Abram is required to circumcise his household and thus express his confidence in the assurance given him. The emphasis here laid on God's almighty power is indicated by El Shaddai, v. 1, followed by Elohim, the title of the God of creation, throughout the interview and to the end of the chapter.

#### B. The Critical Partition.

The critics endeavor to make out a show of continuity for P in the history of Abraham by picking out a sentence here and there from ch. 12-16, sundering it from its connection and transferring it to P. But they have no better reason and are no more successful in this than in their attempt to establish the continuity of J in the narrative of the flood, see pp. 168,169.\* In order to bridge the chasm from ch. 11 to ch. 17 six verses and parts of three others, referring to the principal events that had taken place in the interval, are rent from their proper context and

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\* All references not otherwise specified are to HEBRAICA, Vol. V.

claimed for P, viz., Abram's removal from Haran to the land of Canaan, 12:4b,5;\* his separation from Lot, 13:6,11b,12a; his connection with Hagar, 16:1,3; and the birth of Ishmael, vs. 15,16. These verses and clauses fit perfectly in their context, and no one would ever dream that they had been inserted from another document but for the necessity laid upon the critics to discover something that could be attributed to P, which might explain the situation in ch. 17 (viz., Abraham's presence in Canaan, v. 8, his son Ishmael, vs. 18,20, born thirteen years before, v. 25, though Sarah had no child, vs. 17,19), as well as Lot's abode in the cities of the plain, 19:29. But notwithstanding this urgent motive Ilgen (1798) is, so far as I know, the only critic prior to Hupfeld (1853), who could find any indication of P in chs. 13; 15; 16. Astruc, Eichhorn, Gramberg, Stähelin, Delitzsch (1st edition), and even Vater with his fragmentary proclivities, were equally unable to sunder anything from ch. 12. Tuch (1838) suggested doubtfully in his exposition, though with more confidence in the introduction to his commentary, that 12:5 belonged to P on a ground which subsequent critics have annulled, viz., its resemblance to 36:6 and 46:6, which are in a context referred by him to P, but denied by others to be his.†

#### 1. Chapter 12:4b,5.

The reference of 12:4b,5 to P is argued by Hupfeld and others on the following grounds:

1. Because v. 5 repeats 4a. But

1) Nothing is more common in the Hebrew historians than repetitions of this sort where no one imagines that there is a diversity of writers. A general statement of obedience to the divine command, v. 4a, is followed by a more particular account of what was done in accordance with it, v. 5. So Gen. 7:5,7 sqq.; 37:5-8; 41:45c,46; 42:20c,24,26 sqq.; Judg. 4:15c,17; 1 Sam. 17:49,50; 2 Sam. 15:16,17; 2 Kgs. 11:16,20.

2) Verse 5 is indispensable to make the connection between vs. 4a and 6. In 4a Abram goes forth it is not said whither. In v. 6 he is already in Canaan and passing through it. It is presupposed that he had arrived there and that the

\* These verses are considered here in connection with the passage to which they properly belong, although by the division adopted from Prof. Harper they are referred to the preceding section.

† An apt illustration is here afforded of the facility with which critics by slightly shifting the lines of division can serve a purpose which they have in view or can alter the complexion of the alleged documents with which they are dealing. Tuch (*Genesis*, p. xliii, note) was inclined to assign 12:5,6,8; 13:18 to P. This would account for the place of Sarah's death and burial, 23:2,19, which otherwise there is nothing in P to explain. Knobel reaches a like result by giving P 12:4b,5,6,8a,9. The connection in J was thus broken, but that was no objection on the supplementary hypothesis, of which they were advocates, that J was not an independent document, but consisted of sections and paragraphs added to P. Schrader gives 6a,8a,9 to E on the ground that one from the northern kingdom of Israel, as he is assumed to be, would feel more interest in associating Abram with Shechem and Bethel, than J from the kingdom of Judah. Dillmann objects that 6b and 8b cannot be separated from 6a and 8a, an objection equally valid, as is shown in the text, against his own removal of v. 5, which is a necessary link between v. 4 and v. 6.

name of the country has been made known to the reader and need not be repeated. But the missing statements on these points are only found in v. 5.

2. 12:5b is parallel to 11:31b and evidently its continuation.

This is unhesitatingly admitted and is quite consistent with the unity of the book, of which it is a natural sequence.

3. Verse 5 has words and phrases peculiar to P.

The following instances are adduced, viz.:

לְקַיֵּץ *took* as in 11:31; 36:6; 46:6. But it is used in the same manner in J, 8:20; 12:19; 24:51; 32:23,24; 48:13; 47:2; and in E, 20:14; 22:3; 45:18,19.

שָׂרָא *goods* and שָׂרָא *to get* are claimed as undoubted characteristics of P, but as it would appear on very slender grounds. The verb and noun occur together in four passages, Gen. 12:5; 31:18; 36:6; 46:6; and the noun alone in six other places in Genesis and twice besides in the rest of the Pentateuch. The critics themselves refer it six times to another than P, Gen. 14:11,12,16,21; 15:14; Num. 16:32. Once and once only it stands in a context by common consent referred to P, Num. 35:3. In every other instance the verse or paragraph in which it is found is cut out of a J or E context, or one of disputed origin, and is assigned to P mainly

because of this very word, which is arbitrarily assumed to belong to him.

שָׂרָא *person* is not peculiar to P, as appears from its occurrence in Gen. 2:7; 14:21; Deut. 10:22; 24:7; 27:25; Josh. 10:28-30; 11:11; not to speak of Gen. 46:15-27, which several eminent critics ascribe to another than P. Dillmann (*Genesis*, p. 219) remarks that "it was scarcely possible to avoid using שָׂרָא for persons of both sexes free and slave."

אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן *land of Canaan* is classed as characteristic of P; but it occurs repeatedly in both J and E, viz., 42:5,7,13,29,32; 44:8; 45:17,25; 46:31; 47:1,4,13,14,15; 50:5. It is used to designate the land promised to Abram, 17:8, in contrast with Haran from which he came, 12:5; 16:3; and the cities of the plain selected by Lot, 13:12.

4. This statement could not have been lacking in P.

This is a frank avowal of the motive by which the critics are actuated in rending v. 5 from its connection. But instead of an argument for the hypothesis, it is simply a confession of the straits to which it is reduced.

5. The mention of Abram's age in v. 4b is held to be a sufficient reason for ascribing it to P. But

1) The critics as a rule impute dates and statements of men's ages to P, even though the context, in which these are imbedded, is derived by them from some other document, as here and 41:46. But the refusal to credit any writer but P with such a statement, when occurring naturally in the course of a paragraph attributed to him is an arbitrary procedure, in which the critics largely deal, and amounts to determining in advance what each document must be instead of seeking fairly to discover what it really is. Inconsistently enough, where a different motive operates, they allow that E recorded Joseph's age, Gen. 50:22,26; and that of Joshua, Josh. 24:29, in which P as a native of Judah is presumed to have less interest. If the various statements of the ages of the patriarchs, when put together, yield a consistent chronology, this is no excuse for critical surgery, but

is simply one indication more that the Book of Genesis is woven together too firmly to be rent asunder, except by a violence which will destroy the fabric.

2) 4b presupposes 4a. It is not a statement that Abram went forth from Haran, but a declaration of his age at the time, implying that the fact of his having done so had been already mentioned; and for this reason it cannot connect with 11:31, as the critics propose, where no such affirmation is made.

## 2. Chapter 13:6,11b,12a.

In favor of assigning 13:6,11b,12a to P it is urged

1. Verse 6 is superfluous beside the detailed account of the separation, vs. 7 sqq.

But this disregards the frequent usage of Hebrew writers to state first in a summary manner, what is subsequently unfolded in detail. Thus Judg. 20:35,36a precedes the more particular recital, vs. 36b-46; 1 Kgs. 5:9 is expanded in vs. 10-14 (A. V. 4:29 in vs. 30-34); 6:14 in vs. 15-36; 11:3b in vs. 4-8; 2 Kgs. 21:2 in vs. 3-9. See also the examples of a like nature given under the preceding head.

2. Its close correspondence with 36:7.

The expressions used in the two passages are almost identical, which speaks strongly for their common authorship, which we too affirm and insist upon in the interest of the unity of the book. This is no argument for diversity of documents, nor that v. 6 belongs to any other than its present context.

3. 11b is unnecessary after 11a; and 12a represents Lot as having a fixed abode, while according to 11a and 12b he led the wandering life of a nomad in tents.

But after the mention of Lot's removal eastward it was still important to state distinctly that this effected a separation between him and Abram. Kautzsch and Socin substantially confess this when they assume that J here made explicit mention of Abram's remaining in Canaan, which R omitted with a view to adopting P's similar statement in v. 12. And as to the alleged diversity in Lot's mode of life, it is plain that R or whoever gave the text its present form saw none, or he would not have joined mutually inconsistent clauses without explanation. Such diversity, if it existed, would prove inconvenient to the critics; for in ch. 19 (J) Lot is not leading a tent life, but dwelling in one of the cities of the plain, in accordance with what they here assign to P, but conflicting with what they assign to J. Where is the difficulty in assuming as both 13:6,12a (P) and 13:12b; ch. 19 (J) require that Lot took up his quarters in one of the cities, while those in charge of his flocks lived in tents on the plains?

4. "Cities of the plain," 13:12, corresponds with the expression in 19:29 P, as against 13:10,11, "the plain of Jordan," and 12b, "Sodom," expressions of J.

But a purely factitious difference is created here by arbitrarily dividing a sentence, and giving part to one document and part to another. "The plain of

Jordan" differs from "Sodom," as much as the latter differs from "the cities of the plain;" so that if the latter can be plead in proof of diversity of authorship, the former may likewise, and it would follow that what the critics here assign to J should be partitioned between two different writers. "The plain of Jordan" only occurs 18:10,11; elsewhere it is simply "the plain" alike in 19:17,25,28 assigned to J, and in 18:12; 19:29 assigned to P. Moreover according to J 18:10; 19:24,25,28; cf. 10:19, there was more than one city in the plain, so that P's phrase is completely justified. And that J should name these cities while P does not precisely reverses what we were told (p. 82) of the characteristics of these two writers, that "J employs sparingly proper names."

5. These verses have words and phrases peculiar to P.

רוֹכֵשׁ and אָרֶץ כְּנָעַן have been discussed already. So has עָרֵי הַפְּלִינָה *cities of the plain*, which only occurs 18:12; 19:29, cf. v. 26.

נָשָׂא *to bear* 18:16, is claimed by Dillmann for P, by which he can only mean that it occurs once, though only once, in a precisely similar connection, 86:7. The verb itself occurs repeatedly in J and E. It is used in the sense of *bearing* in J, Gen. 4:18; 7:17; Num. 11:14; 14:33; so in E, Ex. 18:22.

שָׁכַן *to dwell*, 18:6-12, is also claimed for P by Dillmann, whereas it occurs repeatedly in J and E, not only in other applications, but with

express reference to the patriarchs in Canaan, J, 18:18; 19:30 (Lot); 25:11b; 26:6,17; E, Gen. 20:1,15; 19; 86:1.

פָּרַךְ 18:11b was claimed for P where it occurred Gen. 10:5,32, p. 25 (also p. 44, Language of J, under 9:19), but it is to be found likewise in J, 18:9,14, which stand in such close connection with 11b that these must form one continuous context; so also 25:23; 80:40, not to speak of 2:10, where it is in a J passage but arbitrarily referred to R. Dr. Harper has wisely refrained from adducing these words here.

The assertion that 19:29 has been transposed from its proper position and that it was originally attached to 18:12a is altogether groundless and merely betrays the embarrassment created by the critical processes which sunder it from the connection in which it stands, and to which, as we shall see hereafter, it is firmly bound both by its matter and form, the change in the divine name being for a sufficient reason and not suggestive of a different writer.

3. 16:1, 3, 15, 16.

The critics are puzzled as to the disposition to be made of 16:1. Knobel gives it to P; Kautzsch follows Schrader in giving 1a to P and 1b to J; Wellhausen and Dillmann agree that the whole verse is J's; Hupfeld seems uncertain. On the one hand it is urged that "Sarai Abram's wife," "her husband Abram," "Hagar her maid the Egyptian," v. 3, needlessly repeat what is contained in v. 1; these verses must, therefore, be from different sources. But on the other hand, v. 3 necessarily presupposes a previous mention of Hagar and of Sarai's childlessness, such as is found in v. 1, and the identity of expressions favors sameness of authorship rather than the reverse, so that they must belong together. Sarai's relation to Abram is not here mentioned for the first time in either document, as

the critics divide them, P, 11:31; 12:5; J, 11:29; 12:11,17. It is not stated, then, for the sake of acquainting the reader with a fact not before known. But it is reiterated and dwelt upon at this juncture, that it may be kept before the mind in order to a proper understanding of the situation. That Hagar was Sarai's maid and an Egyptian is also important for the correct comprehension of the subsequent history. Hence it is not only repeated here but elsewhere in all the documents, as the critics regard them, J, 16:8; E, 21:9; P, 25:12. There is accordingly no escape from the admission of repetitions but by the indefinite multiplication of documents. The triple statement, 16:15,16, that Hagar bare Ishmael is not due to diffuseness of style but emphasizes the fact that he was not Sarai's child.

But if v. 1 is accorded to P, because presupposed in v. 3, then the narrative in J evidently lacks its beginning. It has no suitable introduction, and the reference to Sarai's maid, v. 2, and to Hagar, v. 4, imply that she had been spoken of before. Even splitting v. 1 between the documents will not mend the matter, for as Kautzsch admits, "By the reception of v. 1a from P the beginning of J's text is cut away." That 16:1a repeats 11:30 is not suggestive of distinct documents any more than similar repetitions which abound elsewhere.\* The trial of Abram's faith lay largely in this that notwithstanding the repeated promises of a numerous offspring, Sarai continued childless. It was this which led to the expedient here detailed. It was proper, therefore, that this fact though mentioned before should be repeated in this place.

And v. 3 is not superfluous after v. 2. Sarai first spoke to Abram and obtained his consent; she then took measures to give effect to her scheme. The dates, vs. 8,16, do not indicate another writer than the author of the rest of the chapter, except on the arbitrary assumption that the latter could not mention dates. Nor is there any significance in the circumstance that in v. 15 it is the father, whereas in v. 11 it is the mother who gives name to the child. It is alleged, p. 249 2 (6), that the former is characteristic of P, the latter of J. But this rule does not hold. J makes Seth, 4:26, Judah, 38:3, and Moses, Ex. 2:22, name their children. And of so little account is it to which parent this act is referred, that in 4:25,26 J they alternate in successive verses, and in 35:18 E both occur in the same verse and in respect to the same child, while in 25:25,26; 29:34; 38:29,30 (all J) the naming is ascribed to neither but spoken of indefinitely. The closing verses are moreover essential to the integrity of the chapter. If they

\* Compare 1 Sam. 1:3, 4:4; 2:11,18, 8:1; 2:21b,26, 8:19; 18:15b, 14:2b; 16:6-11, 17:2,19; 25:1, 28:3; 2 Sam. 2:11, 5:5; 8:21c,22c; 14:24,28; 1 Kgs. 14:21c,31b; 15:16,32; 2 Kgs. 1:1, 8:5; 8:29, 9:15, 16. These examples as well as most of those previously given are adopted from an early publication of Ewald, his *Komposition der Genesis*, 1823, which is still worthy of attentive perusal, and in which he argues more wisely than in his later speculations. There is much truth in his suggestion that many of the critical objections to the unity of Genesis arise from applying to it modern and occidental standards, and disregarding the usages of Hebrew historiography and that of the ancient Orient generally.

be sundered from it and given to P, the result will be that while J records Sarai's anxiety to have children by her maid, Abram's assent to her wishes, Hagar's pregnancy, and the angel's promise of a son, whom he names and characterizes, yet the point of the whole narrative is never reached. J makes no mention of the birth of Hagar's child. So that his story, as the critics furnish it to us, has neither beginning nor end. We are left to presume that it once had these missing parts, corresponding to what the critics have cut away, but that R removed them to make room for statements to the same effect from P. Why he should have done this does not appear; especially as at other times he is represented to be so careful to preserve every scrap from his sources as to insert what the critics deem superfluous, regardless of the fact that it interrupts the connection and adds nothing to what had been said before.

That לָקַח, שָׂא, and וַיִּזְנֶה וַיִּבְרָא, v. 8, are not peculiar to P was shown under 1) 3 and 2) 5. Hupfeld notices the fact that הִקְדִּישׁ whose name was, v. 1, elsewhere occurs only in J (though he is said, p. 32, to be sparing in his

use of proper names) Gen. 22:24; 25:1; 38:8; Josh. 2:1, so הִקְדִּישׁ, Gen. 24:29; 38:1,2; but this does not seem to have ended the strife among the critics as to the origin of that verse.

#### 4. Chapter 17.

Chapter 17 cannot be sundered from what precedes and follows, as an extract from an entirely independent document. It is most intimately related to the whole narrative of which it is a part. Its explicit allusion to antecedent events oblige the critics to link it with statements of their occurrence, and thus by means of scattered and disjointed sentences to make out for P a show of continuity. With how little reason and success this is done, we have already seen. But even if the analysis, which they propose, were better supported, it does not meet the case. It is not sufficient that there should be a bald mention of Abram's arrival in Canaan and of the birth of Ishmael. The significance of these facts in the life of Abram and the entire course of training, to which he had been subjected, as this is set forth in the whole antecedent narrative, are necessary preliminaries to this chapter. Its form cannot be accounted for nor can its contents be understood without it.

The one leading idea in the life of Abram is the trial of his faith, that he might become the father of the faithful. Jehovah bade him leave his country and his father's house, promising to give him possession of a land and to make of him a great nation; and this though the land was already occupied by Canaanites and his wife was childless. His faith was soon tried by a grievous famine which obliged him to leave the land and go down to Egypt, where a new trial awaited him in the peril of losing Sarai. She was rescued by divine interference and he was restored to Canaan enriched, but the promised seed was not born. In the long waiting he began to apprehend that his steward, Eliezer, would be his heir.

But the promise was made more definite that he should have a child of his own body, not merely a son by adoption, and that his offspring should be as numerous as the stars, and to confirm his faith in his future possession of the land, Jehovah entered into a formal covenant with him, sealing the engagement by a visible symbol of the divine presence. Ten weary years had worn away, and still Sarai had no child. At her suggestion he took Hagar, thinking thus to obtain the promised son. Ishmael was born and had reached his thirteenth year, when the promise was made more definite still, and the announcement was given that his long deferred hope was now to be fulfilled. Not his handmaid but his wife, not Hagar but Sarai should be the mother of the promised seed. The covenant, which had already been ratified on one side, must now be ratified on the other. Abraham signifies his faith in the divine announcement, and binds himself and his household in covenant with God by the seal of circumcision, and this in anticipation of Isaac's birth. This final ratification of the covenant is followed by Jehovah's condescending to the usages of man and coming in human form to feast with Abraham at the door of his tent, where the promise is repeated in the hearing of Sarah, and Jehovah makes confidential communication of his purpose to Abraham, and admits Abraham on the footing of this newly-confirmed friendship to the intimacy of persistent and prevalent intercession.

If ever a narrative bore in itself the evidence of inviolable unity, in which every part fits precisely in its place in the plan of the whole, and is indissolubly linked with every other, all breathing one spirit, contributing to one end, working out one common design, to which each and every item is indispensable, and defying all attempts to rend it asunder, this is the case with the life of Abraham as recorded in the Book of Genesis. Though it is told with a charming simplicity and apparent artlessness, the divine purpose rules in the whole, and rivets all together with hooks of steel, which no critical art can sever.

We are asked to believe that all this close correspondence and evident adjustment of the several parts is but the result of a lucky accident. Two or rather three documents, written quite independently of each other, with entirely distinct aims and frequently at variance in their details, have happened to be so constructed, that extracts taken from them could be dove-tailed together, and yield all the evidence of a consistently constructed, regularly developing scheme, which reaches its most pathetic climax when the faithful patriarch proves his obedience in the last and sharpest trial of all by taking the knife to slay his son, and the approving voice from heaven stays his hand and confirms the promises previously given by the unheard of solemnity of the oath of Jehovah swearing by himself.

Is it a supposable thing that ch. 17 has been extracted from a document, which, as the critics tell us, knows nothing of any previous divine communication made to Abraham? which on the contrary, represents him as having migrated to Canaan of his own motion, and from no divine impulse, no promises

having been made to him, and no measures taken to discipline his faith? So viewed it no longer has the emphasis of being preceded by a series of promises of growing definiteness and clearness, which gradually lead up to it, but is absolutely not only the first but the only revelation which God makes to Abraham his whole life long.

Regard it as a final and more explicit promise intended to cut off all previous misunderstandings, and to assure him that he should have not an adopted son, as 12:2 might permit him to suppose that his retinue, 14:14, should swell to a nation; not even a son of his own by his handmaid as 15:4 might be interpreted; but a son by his own wife notwithstanding her long continued barrenness; then it will be easy to understand why, instead of a simple promise in a few words like that first given, 12:2,7, it is dwelt upon and reiterated, 17:2-8, and why Sarai is so emphatically referred to, and with such repetition as the mother of the expected child, vs. 15,16,19,21. Then, too, there is an obvious fitness in Abraham's being required to ratify on his own part by a special rite the covenant which Jehovah had previously ratified himself by a visible symbol. And there is likewise a special significance in Jehovah's revealing himself as God Almighty and Elohim (the God of creation) to Abraham, who has been kept in such long expectancy, till every natural hope of offspring had vanished. His omnipotent word can accomplish all that he says. All this is intelligible and in place, if the promise is a last emphatic utterance to one, whom hope deferred has tempted to misinterpret former declarations or to grow despondent in respect to their fulfilment.

But as the first and only promise made of God to Abraham, its whole character and structure are unexplained. The iteration must then be, as the critics in fact regard it, mere verbose diffuseness characteristic of P. El Shaddai and Elohim became the mere habit of a writer, who uses no other appellation of God prior to the Mosaic period. And by sheer accident this verbose diffuseness and this habit of using Elohim yield precisely the emphasis and the form needed to crown the whole series of promises of ever growing fulness and precision, recorded by another writer of whom P knew nothing and whose views he did not share. *Credat Wellhausen, non ego.*

And, further, ch. 18 is just as unintelligible without ch. 17, as the latter is apart from the chapters that precede it. The transaction there recorded is without a parallel in Scripture. It cannot be dismissed as only another instance of J's extraordinary anthropomorphisms or put on a parallel with heathen myths. There is nothing like it elsewhere in J. Its remarkable and solitary character implies a very unusual occasion. The occasion was in fact absolutely unique. It was the solemnization of the covenant transacted between God and Abraham as the father of the chosen race. It was the starting point of that scheme of grace, by which a people was separated from the rest of the world to be for the time the depository of God's truth and ordinances with a view to the ultimate salvation of

the world. The nearest Scripture parallel is that in which Jehovah, who here covenanted with Abraham, renewed his covenant with his descendants increased to a nation at Mount Sinai, Ex. 24:7,8, which was followed by a sacred meal in which the representatives of the people ate and drank in the immediate presence of the God of Israel visibly manifested before them, vs. 9-11. So here Jehovah in human form came to the tent of Abraham and ate of his food in token of friendly intimacy established, as men who had covenanted were in the habit of eating together in recognition of their oneness and their amicable relations, Gen. 31:44,45. Put this unique act of condescension in connection with the unique relation between God and man just consummated, and all is plain. Sunder it with the critics from the immediately preceding transaction and the peculiarity of this visit to Abraham has no meaning and is without an object.

The section next preceding in J is the story of Hagar, which suggests no explanation of this extraordinary visit.\* Is this another instance of the combination of unrelated writings, chancing to impart a profound significance to what in its original position was unmeaning, not to say grotesque? The evidently inseparable connection of this whole narrative supplies an argument of unity, which everyone who reads it can appreciate, and which cannot be set aside by any amount of critical reasoning from microscopic details.

It is further observable that up to 17:5,15, the name of the patriarch is uniformly Abram, and that of his wife Sarai; thenceforward they are Abraham and Sarah irrespective of documents. This is a plain indication of unity, which the critics seek to escape by assuming a systematic alteration throughout by R to conform to this passage. Note also the clear allusion 18:14, J, (לְמוֹעֵד) to 17:12, P, cf. also 21:2. Other allusions and links of connection with ch. 21 will be considered hereafter.

##### 5. Incompleteness of P.

1. According to the representation of the critics P relates with some particularity two events in the life of Abraham, viz., the institution of circumcision, ch. 17, and the purchase of the field in Machpelah, ch. 23. Beyond this there is absolutely nothing respecting him but the record of his death and burial, 25:7-11, and a few scattered sentences, such as we have reviewed, torn from their connection, because P contained allusions to facts which made it necessary to discover some scanty mention of them which could be assigned to him. In regard to Isaac and Jacob P is more fragmentary still. No paragraph of any length is anywhere to be found. A few disjointed, and for the most part unrelated, sentences compose the

\* Nor is it explained by the covenant in ch. 15, which De Wette (*Beiträge*, II., p. 77) affirms to be another form of the myth in ch. 17. An interval of years is presupposed by ch. 16, which must necessarily follow ch. 15 and precede ch. 18. In ch. 15, God gives to Abram a pledge and assurance of his own engagement. It is only when as the counterpart to this Abram in ch. 17 testifies his faith in God and adds his seal to the covenant, that the way is prepared for the covenant meal in ch. 18.

whole. The supplementary hypothesis here had the advantage of being able to claim with some plausibility, that while P had little to say respecting their more remote ancestors, Abraham and Isaac, he dwelt with special interest upon Jacob, the immediate progenitor of the children of Israel, and his narrative here became full and minute. But the discovery of another Elohist (E), and especially the attempt, which has of late been pushed to the greatest lengths, to fritter away the patriarchal history by parcelling it into legendary tales reflecting the prejudices or partialities of later times, have swept away the greater part of the P document, leaving but a trifling portion of what was once ascribed to it. J's preference for the name Jehovah, and P's attachment to the ritual legislation mark them as Judeans. E on the other hand is an Ephraimite, and felt an interest in Joseph and in such localities as Bethel, Shechem, etc., which citizens of the southern kingdom could not be expected to share. P avoids these themes and in consequence his account of the three great patriarchs becomes to the last degree jejune and incoherent.

The result is a natural sequence of the perversion of the history and of the attempted partition, and may fairly be regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum* in respect to both. This will more fully appear in the sequel. For the present it is sufficient to indicate the lacunae, which have thus far appeared in the section now under review. P's history of Abraham is almost a total blank from the time of his father's settlement in Haran, 11:31, until the year before the birth of Isaac, ch. 17, when he had been twenty-four years in Canaan and had been subjected to a long series of trials for the discipline of his faith. These are presupposed in ch. 17, but are absolutely ignored in the six verses and three clauses, which are all that are attributed to P during the period to which they belong. These verses and clauses are, moreover, rent without sufficient justification from a context where they cannot be spared; and their removal leaves J's story of Hagar with neither beginning nor end, and strikes from it the birth of Ishmael altogether.

2. Another palpable instance of incompleteness is afforded by the history of Lot. The critical division renders P's mention of Lot altogether nugatory. P particularly records his parentage and his relation to Abram, 11:27; his accompanying Terah and Abram from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, v. 31; his going thence with Abram to Canaan, 12:5; his large property and retinue, 13:6; his parting from Abram and dwelling in the cities of the plain, vs. 11,12; the deliverance granted him for Abram's sake when God destroyed these cities, 19:29. And there he disappears. The very point and purpose of the whole narrative is not reached,\* viz., that from Lot sprang the tribes of Moab and Ammon, which are thus in accordance with the uniform plan of Genesis removed like Ishmael, the

\* Wellhausen remarks (*Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 15): "Nöldeke calls attention to a break in Q (P): he must without doubt have connected the two nations of Moab and Ammon with Lot, who in and of himself has no significance."

descendants of Keturah and Esau beyond the limits of the promised land, that it may remain in the undisturbed possession of the chosen race. The missing paragraph containing the key to the significance of Lot, 19:30-38, is ascribed to J; but his account, too, is mutilated, if not at the end, at the beginning. Lot is suddenly introduced, 12:4a, with no intimation of who he was and no previous mention of him.

3. P's account of Abram's removal from Haran begins abruptly, 12:4b, and in a manner which implies that something is missing. The statement that "Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran" presupposes that this departure had been already mentioned. And so in fact it is in what immediately precedes, vs. 1-4a. But this we are told belongs to J. So that it is necessary to assume that the preliminary part of P's narrative has been omitted and these verses from J substituted for it. The attempt has been made to confirm this by alleging that the title "These are the generations of Abram" must originally have stood at the beginning of Abram's life\* in P, as in the case of Isaac, 25:20, and Jacob, 37:2, since a separate section must have been devoted to this greatest of the patriarchs, instead of including him under "the generations of Terah," whose life is brought to a formal close in the preceding chapter, 11:32; but that R in replacing the opening words of P by those of J dropped the title of the former as well. Plausible as this may sound it is clearly a mistake. For

1) Even if such a substitution had been made, it would not account for the omission of the title, had it been appropriate and originally stood there; for like titles occur at the head of sections which are wholly J's, 2:4, or in whose opening chapters there is not a single sentence from P.

2) The succeeding history deals not only with Abram, but with other descendants of Terah as well, who are accordingly for this reason introduced to the reader at the outset, 11:27,29, viz., Lot, who journeyed with Abram to Canaan, and Nahor, whose descendants are recited without a separate title, 22:20-24, preparatory to the marriage of Isaac into this family of his kindred, ch. 24.

3) The generations of Abram would be an unsuitable designation of a history, the emphasis and interest of which for several successive chapters turns upon the patriarch's childlessness.

4. The same thing further appears from 25:19, where the genealogy is linked directly with 11:27 by beginning, "Abraham begat Isaac."

No title has been dropped, therefore, from the beginning of ch. 12; consequently no presumption can be drawn from that source in favor of different narrators. It may be added that as 12:4b requires 4a to make it intelligible, and this is indissolubly bound to vs. 1-3, so 12:1 is linked as firmly with the preceding chapter. J's account cannot have begun with 12:1 (Delitzsch), nor with 11:29

\* So Knobel, Wellhausen, Dillmann and others following a suggestion of Ewald in his review of Delitzsch on Genesis in his *Jahrbücher d. Bibl. Wissenschaft* for 1861-2, p. 40.

(Dillmann), for in either case Abram is introduced abruptly and without explanation; both require that 11:27 P should precede them. Thus P is linked with J, and J with P, each dependent on the other to supply the needed explanation of what it contains, neither complete without the other, both fitting accurately together and precisely filling each other's gaps. Is this seamless and harmonious production a piece of patchwork? Can extracts from wholly independent documents be made to match in this manner, however skilfully arranged? And how do these repeated omissions, now from one document, now from the other, which must of necessity be assumed by the advocates of the current critical hypothesis, comport with what is alleged of the conduct of R elsewhere, his concern to preserve the briefest and most scanty statements of his sources, even when they add nothing to fuller narratives drawn from elsewhere, the insertion being detected by its being a superfluous and unmeaning duplication? cf. 7:13-16; 9:18,19; 18:6, 11b,12a; 19:29.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

For convenience of reference the arrangement and numbers are adopted from p. 244.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) רכוש explained, under 12:4b,5.  
 (2) הַהֲלֹךְ in the phrase *walk before God*, 17:1 (analogous to, though differing from *walk with God*, 5:22,24; 6:9 P), occurs nowhere else in P, and but twice besides in Pent. 24:40 J; 48:15 E, both with explicit reference to this passage; see also p. 174 (6:9).  
 (3) תָּמִיד explained p. 174 (6:9).  
 (4) רַבָּה not peculiar to P; in J Gen. 7:17; 38:12; 48:34; in J or E Ex. 1:10,12,20; in Hiphil as 17:2,20 only 28:3; 48:4; Ex. 7:3 in P; but Gen. 3:16 J; 15:1 JE; 16:10 E in J context; 22:17 R in E context; 26:4(R),24 J; Ex. 32:13 J; Lev. 26:9 J (Dill.); Josh. 24:3 E.  
 (5) כָּאֵד כָּאֵד also in J 30:43, as stated p. 174 (7:19).  
 (6) אֱלֹהִים explained above.  
 (7) אֲנִי הִנֵּה three times in Genesis, 6:17; 9:9; 17:4; twice in Exodus, 14:17; 31:8; three times in Numbers, 8:12; 18:6,8, only of God announcing something of special moment in the history or the ritual. All are referred to P, though in Ex. 14 P, J and E seem to be inextricably intermingled.  
 (8) פָּרָה not peculiar to P; in J Gen. 26:22; 49:22; Lev. 26:9; in E Gen. 41:52; Ex. 28:30; and Gen. 47:27, though assigned to P, is cut out of a J context.

- (9) נָתַן בְּרִית and הִקִּים בְּרִית, see p. 174 (6:18).  
 (10) שִׂית or שִׂים for נָתַן, see p. 152.  
 (11) \*אָחָרִי \*זָרַע *seed after*, 17:7-10; but P also uses "seed with," Gen. 28:4; Num. 18:19; and simply "seed," Ex. 30:21. If this argues no diversity of authorship, why should it in Gen. 18:15; 26:8; 28:13 J? Cf. Dt. 1:8 with 11:9 both D (Dill.), and 1 Sam. 20:42 with 24:21.  
 (12) בְּרִית plur. in P to denote perpetuity of institutions, see p. 174 (6:9). E and J use the plur. when they have occasion to do so, Ex. 12:42 E (Dill.); Josh. 22:27,28 JE.  
 (13) בְּרִית עוֹלָם in four passages of Pent. to denote the perpetuity of the covenant with Noah, Gen. 9:16; Abraham, Gen. 17:7,13,19; and Israel, Ex. 31:16; Lev. 24:8. All P.  
 (14) זָכַר in J, Ex. 13:12,15; cf. 84:28; also Gen. 7:3,9 where it is arbitrarily referred to R, see p. 151, e; p. 175 (7:2).  
 (15) עָצָם *selfsame*, see p. 174 (7:18).  
 (16) יָלַד (Hiphil), see p. 163, (13).

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) נָפֵשׁ.  
 (2) אָרֶץ כְּנָעַן see above under 12:4b,5.  
 (3) עָרֵי הַכְּכָר see above under 18:6,11b,12a.  
 (4) אֵל שָׂרִי not peculiar to P; in Gen. 48:14 E (Well.), or these words cut out of the verse and arbitrarily referred to R (Dill., Kautsch), אֵל שָׂרִי Gen. 49:26; Num. 24:4,16 in J.

(5) אָחוּזָה not peculiar to P; repeatedly in Lev. 25 (not P, Well.); Num. 32:5,22 (J, Schräd., Kays.; JE, Well.; v. 5 J, Dill.); Josh. 21:12 (not P, Dill.), 22:4 (J, Schräd., Kays.; D, Well., Dill.). Dillmann accounts for the presence of this word in Josh. 22:4 by the magisterial assertion "אָחוּזָה אַרְצֵי אַחֲזַתְכֶם a phrase of A(P) has been substituted by Rd or some later hand for אָרְצֵי אֲשַׁתְּכֶם."

(6) מוֹל (and מָלַל) occurs not only in P, but in D, Deut. 10:16; 30:8, and E, Josh. 5:2,3,8; and according to Wellhausen in J likewise, Gen. 34:15,17,22,24; a noun from this root also in J, Ex. 4:26.

(7) יִצְאָה... מַלְכִים occurs in but one other passage, 35:11, where the promise here made to Abraham is repeated to Isaac.

(8) יָלִיד nowhere in P except Gen. 17; 14:14 is not P, nor is Lev. 22:11 according to Wellhausen; יָלִיד occurs besides in three places in the Hex. without בֵּית, all of them in J, Num. 18:22,28; Josh. 15:14.

(9) מִקְנֵת כֶּמֶף but once outside of Gen. 17, viz., in Ex. 12:44. מִקְנָה occurs in Lev. 25:16, 51, which is not P, according to Wellhausen.

(10) כָּן נָכַר but twice in Hex. outside of Gen. 17, viz., Ex. 12:43, P; Lev. 22:25 not P (Well.); נָכַר elsewhere in Hex. only in J, Deut. 31:16; 32:12 or E, Gen. 35:24; Josh. 24:20,23.

(11) וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְנָו a technical legal phrase, not to be expected except in legal sections.

(12) עָרַל but four times in P, Gen. 17:14; Ex. 6:12,30; 12:48; also in Lev. 19:23; 26:41 J (Dill.), not P (Well.); Josh. 5:7 Rd in E context.

(13) כֶּשֶׁר עָרַלְתָּ but once outside of Gen. 17, viz., Lev. 12:8; עָרַלְהָ but once beside in P, twice in J, Ex. 4:25; Lev. 19:23, also in E, Josh. 5:3, and D, Deut. 10:16.

(14) כִּרְתִי הַפֶּה but once in P, Gen. 17:14; besides in Hex. only in J, Lev. 26:15,44; Deut. 31:16,20.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

### OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה already explained.  
 (2) מִזְבֵּחַ explained, p. 182, 2.  
 (3) מִקְדָּשׁ also in P, Num. 34:11, as stated, p. 176.

(4) אָהַל occurs in P, Ex. 16:16; Num. 19:14, 18, besides the multitude of instances in which it is applied to the sacred tent. The verb אָהַל 12,18, J occurs nowhere else in the Hex. and but once besides in the entire Bible, Isa. 18:20.

(5) נָא in P, Gen. 34:8, also Num. 20:10, according to Nöldeke and Schrader, and perhaps Dillmann who says v. 10a is from P, 10b mainly from E, though with same words from P.

(6) בַּעֲבוּר is always referred to J, E or R.

(7) מִקְנָה occurs several times in P, Gen. 34:23; 36:8,7; 46:6; Josh. 14:4, and according to a number of critics, Num. 31:9; 32:1,4,16,26; not to speak of Gen. 49:32, where it has a somewhat different sense.

(8) אָנֹכִי in P, Gen. 28:4.

(9) רִיָּן is not used by J; 15:14 (the passage adduced) is by the critics referred to R; besides in Hex. only Gen. 6:3, J; 30:6 to E; 49:16; Deut. 32:38 poetic passages alleged to be older than J and simply inserted by him.

(10) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל explained, p. 154 (38).

(11) וְתָהָר see p. 155 (35).

(12) עַל-כֵּן in P, Ex. 20:11; Lev. 17:12; Num. 18:24.

(13) כֶּרֶת בְּרִית see p. 174 under 6:18 (1).

(14) קָלַל in P, according to Dillmann, Lev. 24:11,14,15,28.

### NEW WORDS.

(1) וַיִּעְתָּק מִשֶּׁם Gen. 12:8; 26:22 J; עָתַק nowhere else in Hex.

(2) הִקְרִיב intrans., Gen. 12:11; Ex. 14:10 J; nowhere else intrans. in the entire Bible; elsewhere used transitively in J, Josh. 7:16-18; 8:23, and the Kal intrans., Gen. 27:41; 37:18; 47:29 just as in P.

(3) בָּגַל but three times in J, Gen. 12:13; 30:27; 39:5; besides in Hex. only in Deut.

(4) צוּהַ עַל the construction in Gen. 12:20 occurs nowhere else in J, and only once besides in the whole Bible, 2 Sam. 14:8.

(5) בְּתַחֲלֵהָ see p. 151, note.

(6) אֵלַי מִמְרָא Gen. 18:13, and but once besides in J 18:1; 14:13 is not his. Knobel refers 18:13a to P, since otherwise 23:2,17; 25:9 find their only explanation in J. מִמְרָא also in P, 23:17,19; 25:9; 35:27; 49:30; 50:13.

(7) נִשְׂא עֵינָיִם in J, E, D, but not in P.

(8) לְקִרְאָתָא in the judgment of Nöldeke, Knobel and Schrader occurs in P Num. 31:13, where also by Dillmann's confession it stands directly between two "genuine phrases" of P.

(9) אֹוֹלִי in P Josh. 22:24 according to Wellhausen and Hollenberg.

(10) וְרַבִּיט is by the common consent of critics referred to J, 19:17,26. Dillmann refers every other passage in which it is found to E, except Gen. 15:6; and it too is E's according to Wellhausen and Kautzsch.

## POETIC WORDS.

Why these words are called poetic is not very obvious, since most of them, which occur elsewhere, are found in plain prose. (1) כִּי־וְ and שְׂמַאל as verbs, (2) פָּרָא, (3) רָאִי each occur once and once only in J. But it is not clear that the rest of the words adduced are to be found in J at all; (4) עִרְיִי, מִשֶּׁק, (5) צִדְקָה are not according to Wellhausen, nor (6) גִּזְוֹל, (7) בְּתֵר, (8) עֵיט, (9) עֶלְטָה, (10) לְפִיר, (11) גִּזְרִים according to Dillmann.

It is evident that a single or even occasional occurrence of a given word in passages attributed to a particular writer, does not prove it to be characteristic of his style. Much less can it be used to discriminate between him and another, in whose writings it is also found. Words that occur but rarely have no significance, and should be stricken from the critical lists. So should P words which occur likewise in J sections, or J words which are also found in P sections. And there is no significance in the fact that certain words occur in one class of sections, which do not occur in the other, unless it can be shown that there was occasion for their employment. Nor does the fact that a given word has been used by a certain writer in a particular instance of itself create a presumption that every other passage in which it is found is to be attributed to the same writer. And yet it is upon these fallacies, which are sufficiently refuted by the bare statement of them, that the whole critical scheme is constructed.

## 3) STYLE AND THEOLOGY OF P AND J.

1. It is said, p. 244, that P is "systematic" because he advances regularly by successive steps to a definite result, while, p. 247, J has "no particular system." In actual fact the "system" is as marked in the one case as in the other, as the most cursory examination is sufficient to show.

The call of Abraham opens the third period of the world's history, for which the way was prepared, and the necessity demonstrated (if God's plan of grace was not to be suffered to fail) by the disastrous issue of both the preceding periods. Mankind descending from Adam became hopelessly corrupt, and was swept away by the deluge, from which righteous Noah was spared to be the head of a new race. Impiety prevailed again after the flood, and mankind were scattered over the face of the earth. But God's purpose of mercy was not abandoned. He selected Abraham to be the head of a chosen nation within which true religion might be perpetuated for the ultimate benefit of the world. We are thus brought to the base on which the entire body of Old Testament institutions reposes.

The antecedent history moves on toward this divine scheme of restriction in order to a safe and final diffusion in various distinct though related lines. Thus the successive stages of iniquity depicted converge upon this issue. The fall of

our first parents, the crime of Cain, the ungodliness of his descendants reaching its acme in Lamech, the degeneracy of the pious race of Seth induced by inter-marriage with the race of Cain, the sons of God with the daughters of men, thus pointing a lesson of which Genesis and the Pentateuch are full, viz., the criminality and the peril of the chosen seed allying themselves with the ungodly around them, the need and the duty of separation and of keeping themselves distinct. And after the world had been purged by the flood the impious and arrogant combination at Babel, frustrated by immediate divine interference, revealed the continuance of the old leaven, and pointed the argument for some new expedient to prevent the extinction of all goodness.

Add to this the gradual unfolding of the promise as set forth in each of these three great periods. The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. Jehovah the God of Shem, in whose tents Japheth shall dwell. Abraham and his seed a blessing to all the families of the earth.

Also the regular dropping of side lines and following the main line so as to converge upon Abraham, thus indicating the distinctness of the chosen seed and at the same time their relationship to the whole body of mankind. Thus the line of descent from Cain is traced and then laid aside in order to pursue that of Seth, which the critics tell us J must have continued down to Noah, though only fragments remain, 4:25,26; 5:29. Then the sons of Noah are traced and dropped in J's portion of ch. 10, only that of Shem continued in the direction of Terah. Then in Terah's family Lot's descendants are named, 19:37,38, and Nahor's, 22:20 sqq., so in like manner the child of Hagar, and the children of Keturah and the twin brother of Jacob: these are successively set aside and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob left in sole possession of the promise.

We are further told, p. 247, "While the covenant between Yahweh and Abram is recorded, it is neither the climax nor the all-important fact of the narrative. It is connected with no institution; and the promise made then is only one of many repeatedly made by Yahweh in his familiar intercourse with the patriarchs."

The close concatenation of this history is here strangely overlooked. The promises to the patriarchs are not idle repetitions of the same identical substance. They rise by regular gradations in respect to both the matters to which they relate, the promised land and the promised seed. Jehovah first, 12:1, bade Abram go to a land that he would show him. After he reached Canaan it was made specific, v. 7, "Unto thy seed will I give *this* land." After Lot had parted from him, the terms are made universal, 13:14,15. *All* the land that thou seest, north, south, east and west, to thee will I give it and to thy seed *forever*. Then in Jehovah's covenant with Abram, ch. 15, this promise reaches its climax. Its certainty is confirmed by the divine pledge symbolically given. The time of the gift is defined, vs. 13-16, and the limits of the territory are particularly specified, vs. 18-

21. The promise has become a formal engagement of the utmost solemnity: what was at first vague and indefinite has attained to the utmost precision both as to the extent of the grant and the time of its bestowment.

Nevertheless it is true that the covenant transaction in ch. 15 is not in every point of view the climax. It rather marks an important stage in an advancing series. Jehovah *spoke* to Abram before he left his father's house, 12:1, as he had done to Noah, 7:1, to Adam, 3:17, and to Cain, 4:6. But when Abram entered Canaan, an advance was made upon all antecedent revelations. Jehovah *appeared* to him, 12:7. A step was taken beyond this in ch. 15, when Jehovah ratified a covenant with Abram by a visible token of his presence. Then, when Abram, ch. 17, obedient to divine direction ratified the covenant on his part by the seal of circumcision, the climax was reached, ch. 18, in the unequalled condescension of a manifestation unique in the whole Old Testament. Jehovah in human form partakes of a covenant meal as Abraham's guest, acquaints him with the divine counsels and admits him to the greatest intimacy. And so far from this being "connected with no institution," it is the basis of the whole future constitution of Israel as the people of God, 18:19, the foundation of its national counterpart enacted at Sinai.

The successive trials of Abraham's faith again form a graduated series, culminating in the sacrifice of Isaac.

And the promises to Abraham respecting his offspring exhibit a corresponding parallel. The Lord first engaged, 12:2, to make of him a great nation, and, 13:6, to make his seed as the dust of the earth. After years of vain expectation Abraham begins to suspect that he shall have no offspring of his own, but that an inmate of his house shall be his heir: whereupon the Lord assures him that he shall have a child of his own body, 15:3,4. But Sarah was barren; so at her instance he forms an intimacy with Hagar, and hopes that Ishmael may prove to be the expected seed. He is then informed that the child of the bondwoman is not the promised heir, but that Sarah his wife shall have a son. After Isaac is born he is tried once more by being bidden to offer him up as a sacrifice; and when his faith endured this final test, the promise of a numerous and victorious seed that shall bless the world was renewed in ampler terms than before and is confirmed by the new sanction of an oath, 22:15-18.\*

With all this evidence of a developing plan and of methodical arrangement it surely cannot be said that J has "no particular system."

2. P is said, p. 245, to be "chronological and statistical" since he mentions dates and ages. The simple reason for this is that whenever a date occurs, even

\* This is an embarrassing chapter for the critics as we shall see. The great majority have assumed that an account by J and another by E are here blended. The present tendency is with Dillmann to substitute for J free additions by E; in which case an independent production by a different writer fits as admirably into J's scheme, as though it had been prepared with special reference to it.

though in a J or E connection, it is for that reason alone referred to P, e. g., 12:4b; 16:16, and particularly glaring instances, 37:2; 41:46. Consequently as a matter of course P has all the dates and J has none, but it is the critical process which has brought it about.

3. P is said to be "generic" because he speaks, 12:5, of Abram as arriving "in the land of Canaan," and, 13:12, dwelling "in the land of Canaan," while J, 12:6 sqq.; 13:18, specifies Shechem, the oaks of Mamre, and other localities, and is hence said, p. 248, to be "individual" and to "abound in historical and geographical references." But this is due to critical dissection. Verses and clauses are arbitrarily sundered from a continuous narrative, with the rest of which they are set in contrast as though indicating diverse styles, when each is appropriate in its place. It is proper that when Abram came from Haran, his arrival in the land of Canaan should be first mentioned, 12:5, before the writer proceeds to specify the particular localities through which he passed. And when Lot parted from Abram, the significance of the event and the reason why it was recorded is brought out by the statement, 13:12, that it left Abram in possession of "the land of Canaan," thus preparing the way for the enlarged promise that follows, vs. 14-17, which are therefore most intimately connected, though the critics assign the former to P and the latter to J. When the occasion calls for it P is equally minute in specifying localities, 23:2,19; 35:6,27; 47:11, not to speak of the detailed boundaries of the land and of the tribes in Num. 34 and Josh. 15-19.

Under this same head stress is laid, p. 245, upon the fact that P simply says of the wealth of Abram and Lot, 13:6, "their substance was great," while J speaks more specifically, 13:2,5, of "cattle, silver and gold," "sheep, oxen and tents." Perhaps P is specific enough for even this standard, 23:17; 36:6; Ex. 7:19. Moreover one can hardly avoid asking whether critics do not sometimes have short memories. It is stated to be a mark of J, p. 46, 3, b, that he "summarizes what is unimportant," saying, 7:1, "thou and all thy house," while P has, 6:18, "thou and thy sons and thy wife and thy sons' wives;" and, p. 45, 2, j, P is characterized as "minute and scientific," because he says, 7:21, "fowl and cattle and beast and creeping thing and man," while J speaks in general terms of "every living substance," 7:23.

4. P is said to be "rigid and stereotyped" because of the recurrence of the same unvarying phrases. The repetition charged is largely for the sake of emphasis. And it is characteristic of Hebrew writers generally that they take little pains to vary their expressions. If the same thought is to be conveyed, it is mostly done, in the same or like terms. It is not difficult to produce an equal number of identical phrases in J. Thus, "lift up the eyes," 13:10,14; "unto thy seed will I give this land," 12:7; 15:18; "there he builded an altar unto Jehovah," 12:7,8; 13:18; "he called on the name of Jehovah," 12:8; 13:4; "the Canaanite

then in the land," 12:6; 18:7; "between me and thee," 18:8; 16:5. And if P expresses the promise of multitudes by  $\text{רָבִיּוֹן}$  without a rhetorical figure, so does J, 12:2; 18:18.

5. P is said to be "verbose and repetitious." But the repetitions adduced are all for the sake of emphasizing what was of great consequence in the view of the writer. So "the land of Canaan," 12:5b, as Abram's objective point and to mark the contrast with a former unfulfilled project, 11:31; Ishmael born of the bond-maid, not the wife, 16:3,15; and particularly in ch. 17. Like repetitions can be pointed out in J, e. g., "Jehovah who appeared unto him," 12:7; "Bethel on the west," v. 8, repeats what had just been said; "famine in the land," v. 10; the last clause of v. 13 adds nothing; 18:3b,4a repeat 12:8 with needless minuteness; "to thee will I give it," 18:15,17; "and the angel of Jehovah said," 16:9,10,11.

6. "The etymologies furnished" are adduced, p. 37, 9, as characterizing J in distinction from P; but P has the like, 17:5,15 (cf. 16), 19 (cf. 17), 20.

7. It is said, p. 248, J is "anthropomorphic." This has already been discussed, p. 182 sqq. "Yahweh appears often and familiarly." Jehovah is said to have *appeared* to Abram but three times in the whole course of his life, twice in J, 12:7; 18:1; once in P, 17:1, where the critics say that the text should be Elohim. Jehovah *spoke* repeatedly to Abram, and on one occasion to Hagar, 16:13; so did God in P to Abram, ch. 17; to Noah, 6:13; 8:15, and to the first human pair, 1:28. "Pharaoh's plagues came *directly* from Yahweh." So Elohim healed Abimelech, 20:17, a passage which, like most of those in which Elohim occurs, is arbitrarily assigned to another than P; but accepting the division made by the critics Elohim in P *directly* took Enoch, 5:24, overthrew the cities of the plain, rescued Lot, 19:29, and blessed Isaac, 25:11. The manifestation of Jehovah's presence in smoke and flame, 15:17 J, has a precise parallel in P in the cloud and fire above the tabernacle which guided Israel through the desert, Ex. 40:36-38, Num. 9:15 sqq. Why Jehovah announced himself, 17:1 P, as God Almighty, p. 249, 1, has been already explained: God Almighty also occurs in J (or E), 43:14, and the Almighty, 49:25. "Abram falls on his face" before Elohim; so in J he "prostrates himself to the earth" before Jehovah, 18:2, and acknowledges himself to be "dust and ashes," 18:27. "God is present but not *visible*" in covenanting with Abram in P, which is contradicted in express terms, 17:1, cf. v. 22; Ex. 6:3.

8. "P persistently and consistently mentions neither altar nor offering, even at the making of a covenant, while J tells of many altars built and specifies the victims slaughtered for the covenant." According to the strict letter of the record J mentions altars built by the patriarchs, but never once a sacrifice offered by them. The only sacrifices explicitly mentioned in the patriarchal age are in an Elohim connection, 22:2,13; 46:1, which are arbitrarily referred by the critics to another than P. Nevertheless P speaks of a drink offering, 35:14. See further pp. 184, 185.

9. As to J's not speaking of "circumcision as an institution," p. 250, its divine obligation is obvious from Ex. 4:26 J, where this is the whole point of the narrative. It is not very clear on what ground it is affirmed, p. 244, 2 (6), that in Josh. 5 "it is related as a *custom*, not as a *law*." The rite is performed at the express command of Jehovah, who directs the renewal of the long neglected ordinance. It immediately precedes the observance of the passover in evident compliance with Ex. 12:48. The demand that J or E should contain the law of circumcision is quite unreasonable, both because there was no occasion to repeat what had already been given, and all ritual law simply as such is referred to P.

#### 6. No Inconsistencies.

1) Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 20) alleges that according P, 12:4b,5, Abram simply continues the migration to Canaan begun by his father, 11:31, acting from the same impulse and from natural motives and receiving no divine call till he had been twenty-four years in Canaan, ch. 17. Whereas J, 12:1, represents his journey as undertaken at the divine command, Abram not knowing whither. This simply shows how easy it is to produce the semblance of contrariety by sundering a narrative, and setting its parts in opposition instead of suffering them to supplement one another. The movement initiated by Terah to find more desirable quarters was carried out by Abram at Jehovah's bidding, who guided him to the land to which his father had originally intended to go.

2) He finds a further discrepancy in the fact that 12:1 J, if interpreted by v. 4, P, must mean that Abram was called while in Haran, whereas J's idea, as appears from 15:7, is that he received his call in Ur of the Chaldees. Dillmann corrects this by showing from 24:4, that in J's view Abram's ארץ ומולדת was Haran; though his conclusions that J knew nothing of Ur of the Chaldees and that 15:7 was an insertion by R are alike unfounded. That there is no express mention of Nahor's migration from Ur, while Haran is called the city of Nahor 24:10, cf. 29:4,5, is of no account; for the writer is tracing Abram's history not Nahor's. And the statement of 15:7 is in full accord with the entire narrative. Jehovah providentially led Abram to accompany Terah to Haran, and then by an immediate call brought him to Canaan.

3) There is no conflict in the chronology between 12:4 and 11:32. Abram left Haran many years before Terah's death. Only the writer according to his uniform method completes Terah's life before proceeding to that of Abram, cf. 25:7; 35:29. Acts 7:4 follows the order of the narrative, not that of time.

4) Wellhausen claims that 12:10-20 is a later addition to the text, and Dillmann that it is transposed from its original position after 18:18, p. 245, note, because Lot was not with Abram in Egypt, though according to J, he was with him before 12:4a, and after 18:5; and Abram was at the very same place in 18:4 as in 12:18. But the visit to Egypt is confirmed by 26:1,2, the presence of Lot

there by the express statement "Lot with him" 13:1, and his retracing his steps to the point from which he had started, vs. 3,4. These explicit confirmations are by a stroke of the critics' pen ejected from the text and attributed to R for no imaginable reason, but that they nullify a baseless critical conjecture. Lot's name does not occur in 12:10-20 for the very same reason that is not found in 6-9, viz., because Abram was the principal party and there was nothing to record respecting Lot. It may be remarked further that 16:1 lends an incidental confirmation to 12:16. But we are told, p. 249, that this is "inconsistent with P's dates." "Sarai was over sixty-five years old; that a woman at such an age, however attractive, could so charm the Egyptian court, as to endanger her husband's life, is inconceivable." The question at present, however, is not whether this was an actual fact or was even possible. But was it impossible in the view of the writer of the narrative? If not, he may have written it as we here find it. On the hypothesis of the critics, R believed it and recorded it. Now will they please to tell us how they know that J could not have believed what it seems that R did, respecting the marvellous beauty of the ancestress of the nation. As to the truth of the story we may leave the critics to settle that with J.

5) P. 249. In P "Abram and Lot separate for lack of room simply" while in J it is because of the strife of their herdmen. So in regard to Sarai and Hagar, Jacob and Esau, "P does not know of any family quarrels," but J is "interested in the domestic differences of the patriarchs." This is merely objecting that the part is not equal to the whole. The story is arbitrarily split in two. The lack of room which leads to the strife is given to P; the strife which results from the lack of room to J. Each part implies the other and is incomplete without it.

6) The thoroughly arbitrary manner, in which the critics deal with the text, is illustrated by Wellhausen and Kuenen throwing out 13:14-17 as an insertion by Rd, p. 245. The former says, (*Composition d. Hex.*, p. 23) "Grounds of a general nature, which will convince few, move me to regard 13:14-17 as a later addition. It is not the habit of J to let God speak so without ceremony to the patriarchs; he is always particular to narrate a theophany in a place precisely indicated, which is then hallowed by this appearing for all time." That is it precisely. Set up an arbitrary standard for a writer. Whatever does not conform to that standard is not genuine. And your point is proved.

7) Chapter 15 is declared to be incoherent. In v. 5 it is night, yet v. 12 the sun is just going down, v. 17 it is after sunset. In v. 6 Abram's faith is affirmed and approved; yet, v. 8, he asks some visible token of the truth of God's word, which is granted to him. Nevertheless the most cursory inspection of the chapter shows that it is consistent throughout and develops regularly from first to last. The preparation of the animals, vs. 9, 10, for the solemnity that was to follow, and guarding them from the birds of prey, v. 11, filled the interval between the revelation before the dawn of day, v. 4, and the approach of sunset, v. 12. And that a

man of strong faith, tried as Abram was, might have occasion to ask for some confirmation of his faith, is no mystery to those, who have repeated the tearful cry, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief."

On the grounds above stated Wellhausen assigns vs. 1-6 to E, vs. 7-18 to J, v. 7 having been modified and vs. 13-16 transposed from their proper position after v. 18, by R; vs. 19-21 are a later addition. Dillmann assigns vs. 1,2,4,8,9-11,17,18 to E, vs. 3,5,6 to J, vs. 7,12-16 to R, vs. 19-21 may be either E or R. For a fuller conspectus of the critical confusion which reigns in this chapter, see p. 245, where the varying divisions of Kautzsch, Kuenen, Budde, Delitzsch, and Kittell are succinctly stated. The revelation by vision, v. 1, is on critical principles referred to E, and this is supposed to be confirmed by the naming of Eliezer, v. 2, whereas J does not give his name, 24:2sq. (the identity of the persons being commonly assumed), also by the phrase "after these things," v. 1, in E, 22:1; 40:1(?); 48:1, but also in J, 22:20; 39:7, and even in P, Josh. 24:27, unless it is confessed that P is not alone in stating ages. The only escape from this dilemma is by the absurd division of Schrader, who assigns "and it came to pass after these things" to E, and the rest of the verse to P. Yet Jehovah is repeated six times in the first eight verses, though by critical rules E ought always to say Elohim never Jehovah. It is necessary, therefore, to assume that R has changed these names. There are also some of P's expressions **אני אור כשרים**, v. 7, **רכש** v. 14, **בשיבה טובה** v. 15, (see 25:8), not to speak of the chronological statement, v. 18. The verses, that contain them, must accordingly have been either altered or inserted by R, whose office is to rectify whatever is at variance with the hypothesis. "Come forth out of thy bowels" **מעים** v. 4, sounds like a variation upon "Come forth out of thy loins," a phrase which P uses in two forms, 35-11 **הלצים**; 46:26; Ex. 1:5 **ירך**, and might easily be supposed to add a third. The animals, v. 9, are precisely those admissible for sacrifice under the ritual law, (P), and not dividing the birds accords with Lev. 1:17. "The word of Jehovah came," vs. 1,4 is a phrase familiar in the prophets, but occurring nowhere else in the Pentateuch, a circumstance upon which great stress would be laid, if there was any end to be answered by it. The inhabitants of the land are called Amorites, v. 16, while J calls them Canaanites and Perizzites, 12:6; 18:7; but if R designated them as in v. 16, how could he have written vs. 19-21?

Dillmann, as shown above, joined v. 8 directly with v. 4, and observes that it connects well if we only assume, what there is not the slightest reason for doing, that **אירשנה** "I shall inherit it" was originally **ירשני** "he shall be my heir." But his own comment on v. 18 overturns his conjecture and with it his critical division of the chapter. Verse 18 remarks expressly that by the transaction from v. 9 onward, God concluded a covenant with Abram in relation to the future possession of the land. Then the sign asked in v. 8 was not to cer-

tify that Abram's own child should be his heir, and v. 8 cannot connect with v. 4, but relates to a different subject.

And Wellhausen's division is no better. According to Ex. 32:18, J, God promised Abraham to multiply his seed as the stars of heaven. This emblem occurs three times in Genesis, 15:5; 22:17; 26:4. By common critical consent the last two are by R, long posterior to J. Consequently from the critics' point of view he must have referred to 15:5, which Wellhausen attributes to E, an entirely independent document.

When Dillmann gives 15:18 to E, notwithstanding the reference to it in 24:7, J, this is not inconsistent with his scheme, for he supposes J to have had E before him and even to have borrowed passages from it, which Wellhausen does not allow.

Dillmann alleges that ch. 16 contains no express allusion to ch. 15. And yet one would think that the allusion is obvious enough. Chapter 16 is an effort to obtain what was promised in ch. 15, a child of Abram's own, no mention being made of Sarai.

8) In ch. 16, Wellhausen followed by Kautzsch regards vs. 8-10 and Kuenen and Kittell vs. 9,10 as an insertion by R. The one proof that these verses should be ejected is that thus a conflict can be created with P 17:23sq., and E, 21:9, and it can be made to appear as though Ishmael was born in the desert and not in Abraham's house. If only the angel's direction to Hagar to return to her mistress could be an interpolation intended to harmonize discrepant accounts, this would be accomplished. And a critics' wish is equivalent to a fiat.

#### 7. Chapter 14.

Astruc set the example of referring ch. 14 to another source than the principal documents of Genesis, as he did every passage which concerned foreign tribes or nations. The critics complain that it is disconnected and out of harmony with what precedes and follows in its representation of Abram but without good reason. The greatness of Abram's retinue is remarked, 12:5,16; 13:6,7. The children of Heth treat him as a mighty prince or a prince of God, 23:6. The king of the Philistines and the general of his army court his alliance, 21:22sq. That he could muster 318 trained men, cf. 33:1, that he was confederate with native princes, that as the head of a clan in contrast with other tribes or nations he is called Abram the Hebrew, is quite natural. His generous regard for Lot his brother's son, 14:12 as 11:27, appears from 13:8sq.; 18:23. The land had been given him with new emphasis in all its length and breadth, 13,15,17; it is quite in place that he should act as its champion and defender. The exhortation and the military emblem, 15:1, seem to be suggested by his late conflict. Lot was dwelling in Sodom, 14:12 as 13:12, and Abram by the oaks of Mamre, 14:13 as 13:18; 18:1. Admah and Zeboim are joined with Sodom and Gomorrah, 14:8 as

10:19, and Zoar as 19:23. Words of P, J and E are combined in this chapter, together with characteristics elsewhere ascribed to them severally, p. 251, in a manner to suggest that the same writer could use the diction and possess the peculiarities of all the documents, and which the critics can only account for on the supposition that it has all been "worked over by R." That, p. 251, no allusion is made to the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah is no more strange than in 10:19; cf. also 12:6; 18:7 with 15:16. The narrative gave no occasion to refer to it. 14:14 can only be discredited by 12:12 on the assumption that a brave man can never be inconsistent enough to show weakness. How was it with Elijah and Peter? In the interest of unity of authorship it is sufficient if the historian could think this possible, as the critics' R evidently did.

The antiquity of this narrative is indicated by the number of ancient names requiring explanation, vs. 3,7,8,17 ("vale of Siddim," identical with the "plain of Jordan," p. 251, 8, 8 (1), but with what was subsequently "the salt sea"), the primeval populations, vs. 5,6, and unusual expressions, p. 251, 3. 1. Its historical truth is vouched for by remarkable monumental evidence (see Schrader, *KAT.*), which no inventions of a late writer could have simulated; nor would it have been consonant with a late age to invent such a character as Melchizedek (cf. Josh. 10:1), whose God Abram identified with his own, vs. 19,22, cf. also 24:3, to whom he did homage by paying tithes, and who combined offices distinct in Jewish usage, nor to mention Sodom without reference to its sin and its doom. Why the mention of a priest (cf. Gen. 41:50; Ex. 2:16), p. 252, with which a blessing and tithes were naturally connected, should imply a late date is not obvious. The mention of Salem in this narrative doubtless gained a new and striking significance, after Jerusalem became the political and religious capital of the land; but this does not disprove the reality of the occurrence. If "Dan," v. 14, is a "gloss by a later hand," p. 252, d, which is quite supposable, it offers no objection to the Mosaic origin of the chapter.

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## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. II. GEN. 12:6-37:1.\*

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### SECTION 6. GEN. 18:1-23:20.

#### A. The Divine Names.

Jehovah as the God of revelation and the God of the chosen race is the appropriate term to use of the Most High in his disclosures of himself to Abraham and his dealings with him, unless there is some special reason, as in ch. 17, for departing from it. It is particularly in place, ch. 18, where in his condescending grace he ratifies his covenant with Abraham by becoming his guest, and in the familiarity of friendship admitting him to his counsel respecting Sodom and accepting his intercession on its behalf. So it is still Jehovah, 19:1-28, who executes the purpose which he had disclosed to Abraham, purging his own land of gross offenders; see 13:13; 15:16; 18:20,21.

But the critics claim that 19:29 is P's account of the destruction of Sodom and the rescue of Lot, which instead of relating in detail as is done by J he despatches in a single sentence, using Elohim of the very same matter in regard to which J had employed Jehovah throughout. But

1. This verse is not a statement of the overthrow of Sodom, but presupposes this event as known and already narrated and proceeds to declare what took place when it occurred. The direct course of the narrative had been interrupted, vs. 27, 28, to mention Abraham's early visit to the scene of his former intercession and what he there beheld. Then in returning to his narrative the writer sums up in a

\* Continued from the January number.

single sentence what he had already related and proceeds to say what further became of Lot.\*

2. The reason for the change in the divine name is now apparent. The writer speaking of Lot, now and henceforth completely severed from Abraham, the ancestor of Moab and Ammon, to whom God is not Jehovah but Elohim as to all outside of the chosen race.

In ch. 20 the affair of Abimelech, king of Gerar, Elohim is the proper word and is accordingly used throughout, both in God's dealings with Abimelech, vs. 3,6,17, and in what Abraham says to him, vs. 11,13. Only in v. 18, where the writer introduces a statement of his own that this infliction was for the protection of Abraham's wife, Jehovah is introduced precisely as in the similar case 12:17.

In ch. 21:1 Jehovah has special reference to 18:10,14, as Elohim in vs. 2,4,6† to 17:10,19,21. In the narrative of the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael, vs. 9-21, Elohim is used throughout, because they are now severed from the family of Abraham, whereas in 16:7-13, while Hagar still belonged to his family, it is the angel of Jehovah who finds her in the wilderness and sends her back to her mistress. In Abimelech's visit to Abraham he naturally speaks of Elohim, vs. 22,23, whereas in Abraham's act of worship he calls on the name of Jehovah, v. 33.

In ch. 22 it is Elohim who puts Abraham to trial by the command to offer up Isaac; it is Jehovah who stays his hand. God as supreme has a right to demand the dearest and the best; but the gracious and merciful Jehovah accepts the spiritual surrender and spares the child.

In ch. 23 Elohim occurs but once and very properly in the mouth of the children of Heth, v. 6.

The divine names are employed throughout the entire section in precise accordance with their true meaning and with biblical usage, and do not afford the shadow of a ground for suspecting different writers.

#### B. Critical Partition.—1. Chapter 18.

The intimate relation of this chapter to the preceding has already been exhibited. Ch. 18 is the final ratification of the covenant to which Abraham gave his adhesion in ch. 17, which acceptance by him is accordingly here presupposed. The reason for the change in the divine names has also been stated, the thought of God's almighty power ruling in ch. 17, as his gracious condescension does in ch. 18.

\* Thus Gen. 2:1 recapitulates the work of the six days, ch. 1, in order to connect with it the rest of the seventh day, 2:2,3; 39:1, after the digression of ch. 38, sums up the narrative of 37: 28-36 on returning to the history of Joseph; so Ex. 6:22-30 for a like reason repeats vs. 10-13; Ex. 12:51 repeats v. 41; Judg. 3:4, cf. v. 1; 21:3, cf. v. 5; 1 Kgs. 6:37, cf. v. 1.

† Cf. with v. 6 in its allusion to God's almighty intervention in contrast with natural causes, Eve's language at the birth of Seth, 4:25, with Elohim in a J section because of the implied contrast between God and man.

The critics allege, p. 254, 2 (1), that 18:9-15 is only a different account of the promise of Isaac's birth given 17:15-21. But this is obviously not the case. The one was made to Abraham, the other was for the benefit of Sarah. That they alike receive the announcement with a measure of incredulity based on the advanced age of both, that each laughs at what to the natural reason seemed so preposterous, which the writer notes with allusion to the name of Isaac, that the interval before the birth is stated in almost identical terms, but little time having elapsed between the two promises, is altogether natural and suggestive of one writer and one continuous narrative, not of two separate stories relative to the same event. The Lord promises to return to Sarah, not after the birth of her child in a visit which J is imagined to have recorded and R has not preserved, but he visited her in giving her Isaac, 21:1.

Wellhausen and Kuenen, p. 255, B. 1, regard vs. 17-19 and vs. 22b-33a as late additions. But the fact that the omission of these passages would create no evident break in the connection is no proof of interpolation, as other critics here confess. Well. says that אָנִי, v. 17, and יְרַעְתִּי לְמַעַן אִשָּׁר, v. 19, are suspicious and vs. 17-19 are allied in contents to 13:14-17 and 22:15-18, which he likewise pronounces spurious. But אָנִי occurs in J 24:45; 27:8,32; 28:13; 33:14; 34:30; 45:4, and an unusual construction cannot for that sole reason be summarily ejected from the text, unless no writer can use a phrase which he does not employ more than once. The resemblance of this passage to others, whose genuineness there is no good reason for suspecting, instead of discrediting it, tends rather to their mutual confirmation.

In regard to vs. 22b-33a there is not even the pretext of a diversity of diction or style. The allegation that the ideas savor of a later age is pure assumption. Abraham's awe vs. 27,30-32 is not inconsistent with the attentions shown to his divine guest, vs. 2sq. The genuineness of the passage is besides vouched for by vs. 20,21 which are designed to prepare the way for the interview that follows; by the number "two" 19:1 which implies that one had remained behind, 18:2, and "angels" 19:1,15, cf. v. 13, indicating that they were Jehovah's messengers, not Jehovah himself. The assertion that J never uses the plural "angels" is disproved by this very passage.

## 2. Chapter 19.

Verse 29 is not by a different writer from the preceding and following portions of the chapter. Its intimate connection with both has already been pointed out. Dillmann claims that it contains five of P's "characteristic expressions," *Elohim*, remembered (as 8:1), שָׂרַף destroyed (as 6:17; 9:11,15), *cities of the plain* (as 13:12), *in which Lot dwelt* (not "in one of which;" this sense is nevertheless justified by the passage to which he himself refers, 8:4, as well as by similar examples, Judg. 12:7; 1 Sam. 17:48; 2 Chron. 16:14; Job 21:32; Zech. 9:9). But in fact the dic-

tion of this verse is too closely allied to the antecedent narrative to admit of its being sundered from it: *שָׁרַת* *destroy* as 19:18; 18:10; *הִפֵּךְ* *overthrow* as vs. 21, 25; *cities of the plain* as v. 25; *in which Lot dwelt* is a plain allusion to 18:12, which the critics for this reason cut out of its connection and assign to P. But, as has been previously shown, it is indissolubly attached to the context in which it stands. That Abram continued to dwell in Canaan, while Lot dwelt elsewhere, is the very point of the whole narrative, which is further emphasized in the promise which immediately follows, 18:14-17. "God remembered" *זָכַר* affords a good illustration of critical methods; 80:22 is parcelled between P, E and J, though the words "and God remembered Rachel" are the only ones in the entire chapter which are attributed to P.

It has already been explained that the sole purpose of the recapitulation in v. 29 is to introduce the following section, vs. 30-38, and that for this reason Elohim is used in preference to Jehovah. At the same time Zoar, v. 30, plainly alludes to v. 23, and the mention of the daughters, vs. 15,16, implies that something further was to be related respecting them. In fact the only imaginable reason why Lot is mentioned in the history at all is that he was the ancestor of Moab and Ammon. This concluding section of the chapter is accordingly indispensable to both documents, is equally linked with both, and binds both together in a common unity.

### 3. Chapter 20.

The incident related in ch. 20 E bears a striking resemblance to that in 12:10-20 J. The critics assume that such an affair could occur but once and hence conclude that these can only be variant accounts of the same occurrence by two different writers. It is obvious, however, that R regarded them as distinct events, differing in time, place, and several particulars. And it is difficult to see why the original writer may not have been of the same mind, and embodied both in his narrative. There are numerous indications that this was really the case. That Abraham had concerted with Sarah to have her pass as his sister in more than one place is distinctly declared, v. 18; and the mention of such an arrangement would be unmeaning, if it had not been actually carried into effect. The brevity of the statement in v. 2 leaves the conduct of both Abraham and Abimelech unexplained, and is an implied reference to a previous narrative of the same sort, in which the motives of the actors are more fully stated. "From thence," v. 1, is an explicit reference to some locality before mentioned, which can only be "the oaks of Mamre," 18:1, J. The "south" *neghebbh*, whether as a part of the country or as a point of the compass, is mentioned nowhere else in Genesis except in J, 12:9; 18:1,3,14; 24:62; 28:14. The expression "south country" *אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב* occurs three times in the Hexateuch and but once beside in the whole Old Testament, viz., Gen. 24:62, J. Josh. 15:19, J, Num. 14:29 in a context where J

and E are confusedly mingled, and this verse or a part of it is assigned to E simply and avowedly because of this one expression. Both Kadesh and Shur, v. 1, are mentioned by J, 16:7,14; so is Gerar subsequently as the abode of Isaac, 26:1, who habitually repeated what his father had done. In 21:32, which is a continuation of the narrative in ch. 20 and by the same hand, Abraham is in Beersheba, just as he is in the following verse, 21:33, J, and his presence there is nowhere else explained. And v. 34, J speaks of his sojourn in the land of the Philistines. And the diction of the chapter is throughout that of J.

נָסַע v. 1 is the standing expression in J for the journeying of the patriarchs, 12:9; 13:11; 22:12,17. אָרִי v. 4, in J, 18:3,27,30-32. מוֹת תָּמוּת as 2:17; 3:4. וְהַשְׂכִּים v. 8, as in 19:2,27; 26:31. לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה v. 9, *ought not to be done*, as 24:7. נָסַע v. 11, as 6:5; 19:8; 24:8, etc. עַל-דֶּבֶר v. 11, as 12:17. אָמְנָה v. 12, only beside in Josh. 7:20. עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד *show kindness*, v. 13, as 19:19; 24:12,14,49. שָׁפְרָה v. 14, as 12:16; 16:2; 24:35.

אָמְנָה v. 17, a less servile term, as appears from 1 Sam. 25:41, and indicative not of a different writer but of an altered shade of meaning. אָרִץ לְפָנַי v. 15 as 18:9; 24:10; cf. 24:51. הוֹכִיחַ v. 16, as 24:14,44 and Lev. 19:17, J (Dillmann). אֱלֹהִים as 3:1-5; 39:9 in intercourse with those not of the chosen race, whereas when the writer speaks, v. 18, he uses יְהוָה.

The nocturnal revelation, vs. 3,6, has its parallel in J 26:24; 28:16, and in a section marked by יְהוָה, though its reference to J is arbitrarily disputed, 15:1, 12 sq. The language of Abimelech, v. 10, recalls that of Pharaoh, 12:18. Abraham's intercession, v. 17 as 18:23 sqq. "God caused me to wander," v. 18, corresponds precisely with 12:1, the injunction to go to a land not yet disclosed. There is no discrepancy between v. 12 and 11:29 (J) or 31 (P). As Abraham's wife she was Terah's daughter-in-law; the mention of the fact that she was also his daughter was purposely reserved for this place, that the difficulty might not be solved before it had arisen.

Such a close relationship as has now been exhibited proves the identity of J and the author of ch. 20, if critical arguments are of any force.

#### 4. Chapter 21.

The opening verses give some trouble to the critics. "At the set time of which God had spoken to him," v. 2b, clearly refers to 17:21 and must therefore be by P. But חָרָה, p. 32 (8) and זְקֵנִים in 2a are commonly reckoned characteristic of J. Hence Wellhausen lets the P paragraph begin with the end of a sentence, the beginning of which is prefixed by another hand. Kautzsch is intrepid enough to find the missing half in 1b, which he attaches to 2b, patching up a sentence from the severed fragments of two different sentences. In either case P tells that Abraham named and circumcised his child without first stating the fact of its birth. To avoid this incongruity Delitzsch and Kittell concede 2a to P notwithstanding the J words which it carries with it, though Dillmann excepts זְקֵנִים pronouncing it a later gloss. Still v. 1 with its emphatic

repetition that God fulfilled a promise so long delayed violates critical rules. Such a repetition creates a doublet, which must be shared between distinct writers. Dillmann accordingly like Kautzsch gives 1a to J and 1b to P, though the latter has the wrong divine name, and it must be assumed that R has changed an original אלהים into יהוה with no more reason than the opposite change assumed in 17:1.

Verse 6 is not a different explanation of the name Isaac from that in 17:17 P and 18:12 J. Abraham's and Sarah's laugh of incredulity is exchanged for a laugh of joy. There is no reason why all should not be mentioned by the same writer with allusion to the name which means 'laughter.'

Verses 9-21 is not a different version of the story in 16:6-14. One was a voluntary flight from which Hagar was sent back by the angel before the birth of her child. In the other Hagar and Ishmael were authoritatively and finally dismissed with the divine approval. This is by the critics assigned to E, but there is nothing to distinguish it from J except the divine name which has been explained already.

על אודת v. 11, as 26:32. ירע בעיני vs. 11, 12  
as 38:10; 48:17. בקול שמע v. 12, as 27:8, 43.  
השכים בבקר as 19:27. ילד child vs. 14sq. as  
4:23; 32:23; 38:1sq. גרש v. 16, as 3:24; 4:14.

הרוק v. 16, as Ex. 8:24; *God was with the lad,*  
v. 20, as 26:24, 28; 28:15; 39:2, 21; divine angel  
calling out of heaven, v. 17, as 22:15.

Verses 22-32 are like the preceding attributed by the critics to E, (v. 23 refers back to 20:14, 15), but are indistinguishable from J, except in the divine name, which is explained above.

God is with thee, v. 22; עשה חסד v. 23; 33:9; 43:3. כרת ברית vs. 27, 32 as 26:28; Ex.  
הוכיח v. 25; על אדות v. 25 as before. הנה v. 34:12, 15, 27. בעבור v. 30 as 8:21; 18:29, 31, 32;  
23 as 15:16 (J Well.) 45:5. בלתי v. 26 as 3:11; 26:24.

## 5. Chapter 22.

Knobel assigns 22:1-19 to J notwithstanding the alternation of divine names. Dillmann admits that there is much in the language, which reminds of him. Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 178), after discussing the critical division of the chapter, adds: "Nevertheless the complete and articulated whole would always be the loser thereby and the justification is consequently very doubtful. On the other hand I cannot conceal that the entire narrative seems to me to bear the stamp of the Jehovist: and certainly one would never think of the Elohist, but for the name Elohim (prop. האלהים) which here (as in part in the history of Joseph) is not supported by the internal phenomena and embarrasses criticism."

Critics generally refer vs. 1-14 to E, but differ in opinion whether vs. 15-18 are taken from a parallel account by J or are an independent addition by R. These verses are, however, essential to the narrative and an indispensable part of it, since without them it is not brought to a fitting termination. And if they are by

J, so must the rest of the chapter be. This is particularly evident of vs. 11-14 with the thrice-repeated Jehovah and the double allusion to the name "Moriah," v. 2. "The second time," v. 15, which the critics arbitrarily erase, is an explicit reference to v. 11. The angel of Jehovah is introduced in both verses in identical terms. "Thou has not withheld thy son, thine only son," v. 11 recurs again v. 16. "Neither do thou anything," v. 12, corresponds with 40:15, J, cf. 30:31; 39:6,9. And Elohim, v. 12, is appropriate in the phrase "fear God" even in a J connection, Deut. 25:18; Job 1:1,8; 2:3. And that even that portion of the chapter in which Elohim dominates, cannot be discriminated from J is claimed by Knobel on the ground of its anthropomorphisms, God tests, v. 1, and thus knows, v. 12, the nocturnal revelation, v. 1, (cf. v. 3), the sacrifice, etymological allusions, vs. 8,14, dwelling in Beersheba, v. 19, and the diction, which is that of J.

נסה v. 1, as Ex. 16:4; calls with the answer כה (of place) v. 5, as Ex. 2:12 J (Well.).  
 ה'נני vs. 1,7,11 are mostly attributed by rule to E, but Well. gives Ex. 3:4 to J. נא v. 2, as 12:18; 18:30. לך לך v. 2, as 12:1. אשר אמר אליך v. 2, as 26:2, cf. 12:1. וישב v. 3, as before. The prophetic formula נאם יהוה v. 16 does not discredit the genuineness of vs. 15-18, cf. Num. 14:28; 24:3 sq., 15 sq.

The inference, p. 265, from this narrative of the "possibility of human sacrifice" by the patriarchs is, the critics must excuse me, an atrocious misrepresentation. The lesson of the narrative is precisely the reverse, that while God put Abraham's faith and obedience to the severest test, he did not require the sacrifice of his child.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) אלהים explained above.
- (2) ערי הנכר\* 19:29.
- (3) מועד 21:2, as 18:14 J.
- (4) מול\* 21:4.
- (5) ארץ כנען\* 23:2,10. Great stress is laid upon the fact that Sarah died and was buried in the land of Canaan, and that the spot was purchased by Abraham and formally deeded to him.
- (6) אחוזה\* 23:4,9,20.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) תושב 23:4 only besides in legal sections.

- (2) מערה המכפלה 23:9,19, only referred to elsewhere as the burial place of patriarchs and with explicit reference to this passage, 25:9; 49:30; 50:13.
- (3) כסף מלא 23:9, nowhere else in Hex. and but once besides in the Bible.
- (4) עבר לסוחר 23:16 only here.
- (5) סביב 23:17, also in E 35:5; 41:48; Ex. 7:24; 19:12; Num. 22:4; J Num. 11:24 and JE Num. 16:34; Josh. 19:8.
- (6) שני חי"י "years of the life of"; as this phrase is only used when stating the age of a person, and all such passages are by rule referred to P, it cannot be expected in J or E.

It will be observed how little there is that is distinctive to connect ch. 23 with other P sections.

\* Language of P, Section 5.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) אלוני ממרא explained above. (2) אהל\* (3) לקראת\* (4) חם p. 175. (5) איה\* (6) על-כן\* (7) מצא חן\* (8) אף (also) not found in P. (9) בעבור p. 155. (10) יסף p. 163. (11) הרה p. 155 (35). (12) הפעם p. 155. (13) ידע (euphemistic) p. 163. (14) סגר p. 154. (15) רק p. 175. (16) עתה p. 155. (17) גרל p. 177. (18) פן p. 155. (19) טרם (20) לבלתי\* (21) אולי\* (22) אולי\* (23) הביט\* (24) הווא אבי\* (25) מטר p. 155. (26) הווא אבי in P 36:48; mostly without הווא in J, so in P 34:3; 36:9 (Dill.), and according to Knobel and Schrader Josh. 15:13; 17:1; 21:11. (27) הווא גם does not chance to occur in P, though גם is found with other personal pronouns, see below Language of E. (28) נשא עינים\*.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) שעה twice in Hex., 18:4 J; Num. 21:15 E. (2) מחר also in E 41:32; 45:9; Ex. 34:8. (3) עמר על 18:8; 24:30 J; 41:1,17 E; Num. 14:14 R; all in Hex. (4) כעת 18:10,14; Ex. 9:18 J; Num. 23:23 E; Josh. 11:6 D; all in Hex. (5) בא בימים 18:11; 24:1 J; Josh. 18:1; 23:1, 2 D; all in Hex. (6) חורל also in E 41:49; Ex. 23:5 and P Num. 9:13. (7) ארוח twice in Hex., 18:11 J; 49:17 older writing copied by J. (8) אמנם twice in Hex., 18:13 J; Num. 22:37 E. (9) שקף three times in J, 18:16; 19:28; 26:8; once in JE, Ex. 14:24; besides in Hex., Num. 21:20 doubtful; 23:28 R. (10) צעקה also in E 27:34 and Dill. Ex. 3:7,9. (11) דפח *destroy*, three passages in Hex., 18:

- 23,24; 19:15,17 J; Num. 16:26P (Nöldeke) Rj,† (Well.), JE (Dill.). (12) חלילה 18:26; 44:7,17 J; Josh. 22:29 R; 24:16 E; all in Hex. (13) נשא *forgot*, also in E 50:17; Ex. 23:21; Josh. 24:19. (14) יאל Hiph. also in E according to Schrader Ex. 17:12. (15) לון also in E 23:11; 31:54; 32:22; Ex. 23:18. (16) השכים repeatedly in E as well as J. (17) משתה 19:3; 26:30 J; 21:8; 29:22; 40:20 E; all in Hex. (18) פצר ב 19:3,8; 33:11 J, all in Hex. (19) שלוח יד also in E 23:10,12; 37:22; Ex. 3:20; 22:7,10; 24:11. (20) לאה twice in Hex., 19:11 J; Ex. 7:18 E; derivative תלאה twice in Hex., Ex. 18:3; Num. 20:14 E. (21) חתן in but two passages in Hex., 19:12, 14; Ex. 4:25,26 J. (22) שחר three passages in Hex., 19:15; 32:25,27 J; Josh. 6:15 E. (23) למה זה also in E Ex. 5:12 and according to Schrader Num. 14:41. (24) עברך also in E 32:21; 33:5. (25) אוץ four times in Hex., 19:15 J; Ex. 5:13 E; Josh. 10:13 D; 17:15 J (Kayser), E (Schrader). JE (Dill.). (26) אמש 19:34 J; 31:29,42 E, all in Hex.

## WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN HEX.

Two of those so classed do occur elsewhere, viz., (1) פת 18:5 J; also in P Lev. 2:6; 6:14; (2) בלה 18:12 J; also in E Josh. 9:13. The rest occur but once in Hex. and of course have no significance. (3) ערנה; (4) סנורים; (5) נציב; (6) קישור; (7) אשל.

## 3) LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) אנכי\* (2) על-כן\* (3) רק, p. 175. (4) השכים בבקר\* (5) גרל, p. 177. (6) ילד, p. 164. (7) גרש, p. 154. (8) הוביח, see above under oh. 20. (9) שמע בקול, see under oh. 21. (10) על אדות do. (11) כרת ברית do.; see also p. 174. (12) שיח, p. 153. (13) פקח 21:19, nowhere

else in E, p. 155. (14) עלה *to sacrifice*, p. 175; in P Lev. 14:20, etc. (15) עלה and (16) מזבח in P (ritual law).

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) ארץ הנגב see above under ch. 20. (2) אלהים explained above. (3) חלום in J Num. 12:6 (Dill.).

\* See Language of J, Section 5.

† The Redactor who combined J and E.

‡ Language of J (just preceding), new words (16).

(4) **וְגַם** + pers. pron. repeatedly in J, also in P, Ex. 6:5; 7:11; Num. 18:3,28.

(5) **לִכְבֹּב** (for **לִבֹּב**) also in J according to Dillmann Lev. 19:17; 26:36,41; Num. 15:39; Josh. 7:5.

(6) **נָתַן לְךָ** *permiſſit*, also in J Ex. 3:19 (Well.); 12:23; Lev. 18:21 (Dill.).

(7) **הִתְפַּלֵּל** 20:7,17; Num. 11:2; 21:7 E; all in Hex.

(8) **תַּעֲרָה** 20:13; 21:14; 37:15; Ex. 23:4 E; all in Hex.

(9) **אָמַר** also in P Ex. 20:10, and according to Dill. Lev. 25:8,44 *bit*. See the critical mosaic resulting from the attempt to refer **אָמַר** to E and **שָׁפַח** to P or J in 29:24,29; 30:3,4,7.

(10) **רַע בְּעֵינַי** also in P 28:8 and in J 28:7,10; 48:17; Num. 22:34; 32:13.

(11) **אֱלֹהִים עִם** *God was with....*, see under ch. 21.

(12) **חָפַר** also in J 26:19,21,22,32.

## RARE WORDS.

(1) **אָמַר לְ** or **אָמַר אֵל** *say concerning*, 20:2, 13; no other example is adduced from the Hex.

(2) **מִטְחָוּי** 20:5; (4) **חֹמֶת** 21:14,15,19; (5) **נִקְיִן** 21:10; (6) **רֹכֵב** *archer*; (7) **וְנָכַר** 21:28 occur nowhere else in Hex. (8) **אָמְנָה** 20:12 E; Josh. 7:20 J nowhere else in Bible.

When it is remembered that the paragraphs and clauses respectively attributed to P, J and E are adjusted by the critics themselves at their own free will on the basis of the hypothesis, which they are seeking to establish; and further that their present arrangement is the matured result of more than a century of learned ingenuity on the part of the most eminent scholars of Germany, the marvel is that the hypothesis still halts at so many points.

1. The attempt to establish a distinctive diction for P can scarcely be called successful. The words of the creation and flood have entirely disappeared except **אֱלֹהִים** and **מֵעַר**. Not another characteristic word is alleged of P in this section, which is to be found prior to the life of Abraham. And those which are here ascribed to him either do not reappear in Genesis, or are found as well in J and E, with but two exceptions which contain their explanation in themselves.

2. After the preliminary portion of Genesis, chs. 1-11, but two paragraphs of any length are assigned to P, chs. 17 and 23, and a scanty show of continuity is made out by sundering verses and clauses here and there from the context in which they are found and to which they rightly belong. As only diminutive fragments of the narrative are awarded to P, it is not to be expected that these will contain the full vocabulary of the bulk of the narratives, which is shared between the other more fortunate documents. That numerous words and phrases occur in J and E, which are not to be found in P thus arises out of the very nature of the situation. A pint measure cannot equal a bushel. It is not diversity of authorship but of magnitude.

3. It is further observable that a very curious relation subsists between the two Elohistes in two different though connected respects.

a. Their distribution in Genesis. They are not alike evenly distributed, but taken as a whole one succeeds the other. Before Abraham the Elohistic portion of the book is all P. After Abraham it is with insignificant exceptions all E. And a prime characteristic difference between P and E is supposed to lie in the mode

of divine revelation ; which raises the question whether the altered form of God's communications may not be due to the period and the circumstances rather than to the peculiar conceptions of the writer.

b. Their respective relation to J. P is thought to be clearly and sharply distinguishable from J. E is so closely allied to J that it is scarcely possible to draw a line of demarcation between them. Elohim occurs in certain connections from which it is inferred that the Elohist style and diction and ideas differ materially from the Jehovistic. It occurs in other connections and with much greater frequency, where the utmost keenness of critical vision is required to discover any difference between Elohist and Jehovist whatever. The critics tell us, here are evidently two Elohists. But it is pertinent to inquire whether the apparent discrepancy may not perhaps be due to overhasty and imperfect generalization. May not the true interpretation of the facts be that a conclusion has been drawn from limited data respecting a divergence between the Elohist and Jehovist which further observation tends to nullify ?

It was shown in a former paper that the differences existing between the Elohist and Jehovist paragraphs in the ante-patriarchal portion of Genesis are not such as to imply distinct authors, but are readily explicable from the matter of these paragraphs respectively and from the special meaning and usage of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah. The same thing is yet more emphatically true of that portion of Genesis which we are now considering. The difference of diction that is here alleged between P and J is wholly factitious, being created by two features of the critical partition.

(1) The scanty fragments of the narrative attributed to P.

(2) The peculiar character of the only two paragraphs of any length (chs. 17 and 23), which are accorded to him.

We have already seen that the use of Elohim in ch. 17 is due to the theme and the occasion and is not suggestive of difference of authorship, and that the chapter is so closely interlaced with those that precede and follow that it cannot with any reason be divorced from them and considered an independent production. And the single occurrence of Elohim in ch. 23 (v. 6) in the mouth of the children of Heth is so entirely in accordance with general Hebrew usage that no individual peculiarity of a particular writer can be inferred from it. Moreover these two chapters severally relate to the two chief promises made to Abraham and from time to time repeated, viz., his future seed and the land of Canaan. One records the ordaining of circumcision ; the other the acquisition of the first possession in the land. Both are thoroughly germane to the entire history and give no indication of being interpolated additions. The stress laid upon each and the legal precision natural in instituting the rite and in describing the deed of purchase give to these chapters an appearance of formal repetition, which does not belong to the ordinary narrative portions of P. This peculiar material would of course

require a fitting style and diction, and sufficiently accounts for any divergence in this respect from other paragraphs.\*

The great majority of the Elohist narrative paragraphs are referred to E and are nearly or quite indistinguishable from those of J, so that, pp. 257 note, 260, the same words are freely quoted as belonging alike to J and E, and, p. 261 note, the same headings are used to indicate their style. The explanation of this resemblance offered, p. 260. 4 and note, that E "being prophetic, we may expect him to be in the main like J," obviously is of no force whatever. How would this apply to Isaiah and Ezekiel, for example, or to Hosea and Daniel? Their being prophets does not exclude the greatest possible diversity of gifts.

It is alleged, p. 261, that E is distinguished by "the following special characteristics:"

a. "The exclusive use of Elohim."

It has been shown already that the use of Elohim or Jehovah is not to be explained mechanically by the various habits of different writers, but by the appropriateness of one or the other name to the connection in which it is found.

b. "The occasional use of the plural form of the verb with the name of God."

This occurs twice, each time for a different and intelligible reason. In 20:13 Abraham uses this indefinite form of speech in addressing the heathen king, Abimelech, cf. Ex. 32:4; 1 Sam. 4:8; and in 35:7 a combined vision of God and angels is referred to. The use of this construction does not warrant the imputation cast upon the strictness of E's monotheism, p. 265; for like constructions occur in the most rigorously monotheistic contexts, e. g., Deut. 5:23(26); 2 Sam. 7:22,23; Jer. 32:36, cf. in P, Gen. 1:26 and in J, 11:7.

c. "The frequent occurrence of dreams, especially as revelations from God."

When God revealed himself to those not of the chosen race, of course Elohim and not Jehovah would be used, and the method was uniformly by dreams as the lowest style of divine communication; thus to Abimelech, 20:3,6; Laban, 31:24, the butler and baker of Pharaoh, 40:5sq., and Pharaoh himself, 41:1sq. So also to Jacob, when on the point of leaving Canaan for Paddan-aram, 28:12, or for Egypt, 46:2, and in Paddan-aram, 31:11, and to Joseph in his childhood, 37:5sq. But J likewise speaks of Jehovah revealing himself to Isaac at night, 26:24, to Jacob in his sleep, 28:16, and similarly to Abram, 15:1,12,13. The futility of the critical attempts to refer these last to E and R has already been shown. The revelation to Abram, 15:1, is called a vision, a higher form of divine communication than a dream, just as that to Jacob, 46:2, is called by E. That no divine dreams are granted to Gentiles in J paragraphs is for the sufficient reason, that Elohim is necessarily used in such a connection. If God speaks directly to men

\* Observe how even Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 168), in contending that Lev. 26 is by the author of chs. 17-26, insists that "the differences of language are sufficiently explained by the distinct character of the material; hitherto laws in dry style suited to the subject, now prophecy in poetic and impassioned discourse."

in J, so he does in E to Abraham, 21:12; 22:1 and to Jacob, 35:1, without its being said that it was in a dream. In P God reveals himself but twice in the entire patriarchal period, once to Abraham, Gen. 17, and once to Jacob, 35:9, in spite of the explicit mention made, Ex. 2:24; 6:3, P, that he had appeared to Isaac and covenanted with him. No variety could be expected, therefore, in the mode.

It is said, p. 265, that according to E, God "appears neither formally nor visibly, but in dreams." And yet if we may believe Dillmann, it is E who records God's wrestling with Jacob, 32:24-31. And he adds that Wellhausen's "arguments to the contrary prove nothing or rest on mere postulates."

d. "Frequent reference to angels, as God's representatives, calling down from heaven."

In one instance and one only "the angel of God" is said to have called from heaven, 21:17. "The angel of Jehovah" does the same, 22:11,15, which but for critical legerdemain, belong to J. Angels came down to earth in E, 28:12, and meet Jacob on his way, 32:2; one spake to him in a dream, 31:11, without any suggestion of the voice coming from heaven. So far are the scriptural data from justifying the remark, p. 265, that "angels are employed; but instead of walking about on the highways, they call down from heaven."

e. "Repetition of proper names in calling."

The names of persons called are not always repeated in E, e. g., 21:17, Hagar; 22:1, Abraham; 31:11, Jacob. There are two instances of such repetition, 46:2, Jacob, Jacob; Ex. 3:4, Moses, Moses; so also the angel of Jehovah, 22:11, Abraham, Abraham, which can only be transferred from J to E by changing the text.

f. "Statements respecting three days' journey."

So Gen. 30:36, J, and Num. 33:8, P.

g. "References to the existence of strange gods in the families of the patriarchs."

As all the passages of this description are assigned to E, there are none left for the other documents. But as J records Aaron's participation in the sin of the golden calf, Ex. 32:1sq., there seems to be no reason why he would not as readily have told of Rachel's carrying off her father's images or of the idolatry in Terah's family.

h. "The special interest exhibited in places and traditions of northern as over against southern Israel."

But if E makes mention of Mahanaim, 32:8; Shechem, 33:19 and Bethel, 28:17; 35:1, he also records Abraham's residence in the Neghebb, 20:1, and Beer-sheba, 21:31 and the sacrifice on Mount Moriah, 22:2. In ch. 14, Abraham pays tithes to the king and priest of Salem. It will serve to illustrate critical methods to state that Dillmann refers this chapter to E with the proviso that if "Salem

here really means Jerusalem," vs. 17-20 must be an interpolation, "since they could only be written by a Judean." It may be added that J, too, connects Abraham with Shechem and Bethel, 12:6,8; 13:3, and records Jehovah's appearing to Jacob at the latter place, 28:16. P, too, links Jacob with Shechem, 33:18, and Bethel, 35:15.

The "special characteristics" of E thus turn out not to be distinctive at all. No discrimination can be made between E and J in diction, style or ideas, which is not altogether arbitrary or which can be successfully maintained. The alleged doublets, incoherences and inconsistencies, by which the attempt is made to bolster up the weakness of other arguments for the original separateness of J and E, are capable of being set aside in detail. They are for the most part hypercritical cavilling, magnifying molehills into mountains and measuring ancient oriental narratives by the rules of modern occidental discourse. And the diversity which is attributed to P, grows out of the limited extent and the peculiar nature of the contents of the paragraphs attributed to him. So far as appears from the data thus far considered, the hypothesis of separate documents is unnecessary and unsustained.

#### 6. No Inconsistencies.

1. The attempt is made, p. 254, 2 (4), to create a variance between 19:29, P, and 18:23, J, by alleging that in the former, Lot is saved for Abraham's sake, and in the latter because of his own righteous character. God's remembering Abraham and delivering Lot in consequence is a plain allusion to the intercession of the former. This misrepresentation, moreover, comes with a bad grace from those who attribute to J the shameful story of vs. 30-38, and regard it as the offspring of national antipathy which would thus attach a stigma to the ancestry of Moab and Ammon.

2. It is added that "according to J, Lot is sent away before the destruction begins, 19:22-24, but P tells us that he was sent out from the midst of the catastrophe, 19:29." This is really too trivial for sensible men. It is sufficient to ask whether Lot would not have been "in the midst of the overthrow," if God had not in a timely manner sent him forth from it.

3. The alleged "duplicates," p. 263, are followed by a statement of their "differences." These latter, instead of proving the existence of variant accounts of the same transactions, simply show that the transactions are not the same. See above under ch. 20 and 21.

4. It is said, p. 264, "ch. 20, E, cannot be reconciled by any possibility of interpretation with Sarah's age as given in 17:17, P. That which is said here of Sarah could not possibly be spoken of a woman ninety years of age." But the point that chiefly concerns us, is not what modern critics may think of the probability or possibility of what is here narrated, but whether the sacred historian

credited it. R, at least, believed it, and why not J? If it will in any measure relieve the minds of doubting critics, it may be suggested that Abimelech is not said to have been taken with Sarah's beauty. He may have thought an alliance with "a mighty prince" like Abraham desirable, even if Sarah was less attractive than formerly. And when Abraham lived to the age of 175, who can say how well a lady of 90 may have borne her years?

5. Compare 21:14-20 with 16:16; 17:24,25. "Ishmael was seventeen years of age. Now why or how should Hagar carry such a lad on her shoulder?" It is not said that she did so. "Why should he be so helpless when cast down under the bush?" Because he was faint and sick. "Why should the angel instruct the exhausted mother to lift up the boy?" Because he was not strong enough to get up by himself. After all it does not seem to be so "unnatural."

#### SEC. 7. GEN. 24:1-28:9.

##### A. The Divine Names.

Jehovah as the God of Abraham guided his servant in his search for a wife for Isaac, ch. 24, so that even Laban and Bethuel recognize the hand of Jehovah in the whole affair, vs. 50,51, and address the servant as "blessed of Jehovah," v. 31. In 25:11 "after the death of Abraham, Elohim blessed his son Isaac," Jehovah as the guardian and benefactor of the chosen race would certainly have been appropriate. And yet Elohim is appropriate likewise as suggestive of the general divine beneficence, which bestowed upon Isaac abundant external prosperity. For the same reason Isaac, in pronouncing his blessing upon Jacob, 27:27,28, first compares him to a "field which Jehovah hath blessed," and then proceeds in the very next sentence "God give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth and plenty of corn and wine." Here the critics are obliged in the most unnatural manner to sunder closely connected words of Isaac and parcel them between different documents. The introduction of Elohim in these passages is precisely on a par with its being associated with the birth of Seth, 4:25, in the midst of what the critics recognize as a Jehovah paragraph. In recording the history of Isaac, Jehovah is the name constantly used, 25:20,21, ch. 26, to such an extent indeed that even the Philistine king, Abimelech, perceived, vs. 28,29, that Jehovah was with him and pronounces him blessed of Jehovah. There is no deviation here from general biblical usage. While Elohim is ordinarily employed when Gentiles speak or are spoken to, as e. g., in the parallel passage, 21:22,23, they also upon occasion use the name Jehovah when speaking distinctively of the God of Israel. Thus Jethro, Ex. 18:10,11 (yet see vs. 1,12); Balaam, Num. 22:8,13,19 (yet see vs. 9,20), Achish, king of the Philistines, 1 Sam. 29:6; Hiram, king of Tyre, 1 Kgs. 5:21(7); the queen of Sheba, 1 Kgs. 10:9. In Isaac's charge to Jacob, 28:3,4, as he sent him to Paddan-aram he uses El Shaddai and Elohim,

because he has in mind God's solemn engagement with Abraham in ch. 17, whose very words he adopts.

#### B. The Critical Partition.—1. Chapter 24.

Ch. 25:20 P alludes to Isaac's marriage to Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel and sister of Laban in a manner implying previous mention of these parties and of this event. Precisely the account thus called for is to be found in ch. 24 and the preliminary genealogy, 22:20-24, which, however, the critics assign to J. This makes it necessary for them to assume that a similar narrative was contained in P, but R has thought proper to omit it.

J has Aram-naharaim (once only), 24:10, while P has Paddan-aram, 25:20 and elsewhere; but apart from the fact that these names may not be precise equivalents, as Dillmann admits, this is no more a reason for suspecting diversity of authorship than when J uses two different designations of the same place,\* 24:10, 'city of Nahor,' and 27:43, 'Haran,' or uses שְׁבִיעָה for *oath*, 24:8, but אֱלֹהֵי, v. 41. Nor can any significance be attached to the circumstance that J says "daughters of the Canaanites," 24:3,37, and P, "daughters of Canaan," 28:1,6,8; 36:2, inasmuch as J himself varies the expression again, 34:1, to "daughters of the land."

Verse 67 alludes to Sarah's death recorded in ch. 23 P. But as on critical principles one document cannot refer to what is contained in another, Dillmann erases the mention of Sarah here as a later gloss. Wellhausen more bravely still proposes to substitute "father" for "mother" as the last word of v. 67. Abraham must have died before the servant's return, only R has omitted the account of his death. And thus by the simple device of reconstructing the text a twofold advantage is gained. A troublesome allusion is escaped and a flat contradiction created between J and P, for according to the latter, 25:7,20, Abraham lived thirty-five years after Isaac's marriage.

In v. 61 Knobel fancies that the second clause does not naturally follow the first, and that this indicates two blended accounts. And as the servant brings Rebekah not to Abraham who had sent him but to Isaac, and calls Isaac his master, v. 65, instead of his master's son, vs. 44,48,51, the inference is drawn that in the older narrative, of which there is a fragment in vs. 61-67, it was Isaac, not Abraham, who deputed the servant upon his errand. And this discovery is corroborated by some "very peculiar expressions" in these verses, of which other critics who have no end to be answered by them take no note.

Dillmann scents a doublet in v. 29b, cf. 30b, but as he can make no use of it, he lets it pass. These verses simply illustrate the inartificial style of Hebrew

\* It would argue no diversity of writers if, in an account of the landing of the pilgrims, we should read upon one page that they reached the coast of America and on the next that they disembarked in New England. In the first mention of the region the more general term Aram-naharaim is employed, but ever after Paddan-aram as indicating more precisely where Haran lay; and Haran occurs in P as well as in J and E.

narrative. The general statement is made first, 29b, fuller details are added afterwards, v. 30. Or one aspect of a transaction is stated first and then followed by another; first, 61a, what Rebekah did, then 61b, what the servant did. Such seeming repetitions abound in the historical writings of the Old Testament. And they furnish the occasion, of which the critics avail themselves to construct their imaginary duplicate narratives. The general summary is set over against the detailed particulars, or one partial statement over against the other as though each had an independent origin.

The repetitions of the chapter should also be noted, in which J seems to be trenching on the prerogative of P; vs. 37-41 repeat vs. 3-8 almost *verbatim*: cf. also vs. 42-44 with vs. 12-14; vs. 45,46 with vs. 15-20, vs. 47,48 with vs. 23-27.

## 2. Chapter 25.

The critics are not agreed whether the opening verses of this chapter belong to P, J or E. Astruc was at least consistent in referring all genealogies of nations and tribes outside of the chosen race to a document or documents distinct from P and J. Nöldeke is equally consistent in ascribing all the genealogies in Genesis to P, and finding some remarkable numerical correspondences, which tend to confirm his view. But the consistency of referring Keturah's descendants to one document (J or E) and Ishmael's to another (P), though their territorial home is described together, v. 18, is not very obvious.

The supplementary critics, who conceive of J as enlarging P by additions of his own, had no difficulty in letting P have 25:5, though 24:36b was J's. But if J is an independent document, the identity of the verses makes it necessary to attribute both to the same source, and 25:5 must belong to J. This statement that Abraham gave all he had to Isaac would seem to carry with it the counter statement of what became of his other children. So Dillmann still argued in the fourth edition of his *Genesis*, and so referred v. 6 to J likewise. And if J spoke as in this verse of Abraham's "concubines" he must have given an account of Keturah as well as of Hagar and accordingly have been the author of vs. 1-4. But on the other hand v. 1 calls her "a wife" and v. 6 "a concubine"; so to prevent this imaginary conflict v. 6 is given to R and vs. 1-4 to E, though why he should be so interested in this particular genealogy, when he gives no other, is not clear. V. 11 is of necessity assigned to P, but its last clause contains a direct reference to 24:62 J; so that it must be clipped off and given to J likewise. V. 18 contains an allusion to 16:12 J, hence the offending clause must be excised or the verse transferred to another context and attached to J. And thus the whole passage is chopped into bits and parcelled among the several documents and the Redactor, though consistent and continuous throughout, and plainly recorded as the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham, 17:4,5 P, that he should be a father of many nations, as v. 16 to accomplish 17:20. But if P were allowed to have vs.

1-6, an opportunity would be missed of creating an apparent divergence by inferring from v. 9 what is not in it, that Ishmael continued to live with his father to the time of his death, contrary to 21:14.

Out of the remainder of the chapter, vs. 19-34, only vs. 19,20 and the last clause of v. 26 are given to P. He accordingly tells how old Isaac was when he was married, and how old he was when "they were born," presumably his children, though this is not said, and there is no direct mention of their birth such as it is here implied had been made. P then springs at once to Esau's marriage at forty years of age, 26:24 sq., and Jacob's being sent to Paddan-aram for a wife, 28:1 sqq.; where these names, Jacob and Esau, appear in P for the first time. Wellhausen may well call this a "skeleton account." And it is suitably characterized, p. 267, as "cold and lifeless, nothing but a register of deaths, births and marriages." Is this P's fault or that of the critics?

But after P's portion is subtracted the critics still find the remainder not a unit. For יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי אֱדוֹם *red.*, v. 25, suggests a different explanation of Edom from that given v. 30; and in v. 26 Jacob is explained differently from 27:36 J. The only alternative, therefore, is to give 25,26a to E, "fragments" as they are, p. 273, or to own with Wellhausen that "J and E are so involved here that a clear separation is not to be thought of." This unavailing trouble the critics impose upon themselves by their notion that different allusions to the significance of names are mutually exclusive, which they manifestly are not.

### 3. Chapter 26.

This chapter (except vs. 34,35 P) is in the main assigned to J, but unfilled gaps are thus created in both the other documents. We look in vain in P for a divine grant of the land to Isaac, such as is referred to 35:12 P, or for a covenant of God with him mentioned Ex. 2:24 P, or for God appearing to him as he is declared to have done, Ex. 6:3\* P. These are all to be found in the chapter before us, but nowhere else. These passages in P must, therefore, refer to what is contained in J, which is contrary to the hypothesis, or it must be assumed here again that P had just such an account as we find in J, but R has omitted it. So when E, 46:1, speaks of Jacob coming to Beersheba and there offering sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac, there is a plain allusion to the altar, which Isaac had built there, 26:25. When Jacob left his father's house for Haran, he went out from Beersheba, 28:10 E, implying Isaac's residence there, as stated 26:25, but nowhere in E. Either E alludes to J or he must have related the same that is in J and R has not preserved it.

When we thus find throughout the Book of Genesis the different documents tied together by cross references, does not the critical hypothesis require too many

\* Jehovah's revelation of himself, 26:24, as the God of Abraham contains a specific allusion to 17:1 and was so understood by Isaac, 28:3.

auxiliary hypotheses for its support? It asks us in every instance to assume that the reference is not to the passage which is plainly written before us, and to which it exactly corresponds, but to certain hypothetical passages, which may once have existed, but of which there is no other evidence than that the exigencies of the hypothesis demand it.

A doublet is suspected in vs. 1-6. It is said that 2b is incompatible with 1c and 3a. Accordingly 1a, 2b, 6 are assigned to E, thus: "and there was a famine in the land; and (God) said (to Isaac). Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of, and Isaac dwelt in Gerar." Then 1c, 2a, 3a are given to J, thus: "And Isaac went unto Abimelech, king of the Philistines unto Gerar. And Jehovah appeared unto him and said, Sojourn in this land and I will be with thee, and will bless thee." But the fact that by ingenious slicing and piecing two seemingly complete paragraphs can be constructed out of one does not prove that the latter is of duplicate origin. The apparent lack of continuity which gives offence to the critics in these verses is of precisely the same nature as that in 24:29, 30 before explained. In 26:1 the mention of the famine is immediately followed by the statement that Isaac went to Gerar to escape it. It is then added with more particularity how he came to make his abode in Gerar instead of passing on to Egypt after the example of his father in similar circumstances, 12:19, and according to his own original intention. Jehovah directed him to dwell in the land that he should tell him of, which was immediately explained to be the land in which he then was. The explicit allusion to the "first famine that was in the days of Abraham," 1b, is without the slightest reason referred to R. Vs. 3b-5 is also expunged as a later addition to the text

1st. In order to get rid of its testimony in favor of 22:15-18, which the critics attribute to R, because if here referred to and cited by J it must be genuine and original.

2d. Because the legal phrases in v. 5 are inappropriate to the times of the patriarchs.

But (1) this verse is in exact accord with others which show great solicitude to make it clear, that Abraham and his seed were chosen of Jehovah not to be his favorites irrespective of character, but to found a pious, God-fearing, obedient race, 17:1, 2; 18:19.

(2) Abraham was commanded to leave his country, to perform specified rites in the transaction of the covenant, to institute circumcision, to offer up Isaac. He was required to exercise faith in God's promises in spite of long delays and discouraging circumstances. He observed sacrificial worship and called on the name of the Lord. The direction to walk before God and be perfect 17:1; 24:40, and his recognition of the divine justice in dealing with the righteous and the wicked, 18:23, imply his possession of a standard of rectitude. So that

though Abraham may have had no formal code, it is not inappropriate to speak of "commandments, statutes and laws" which he had obeyed.

(3) The heaping together of these various terms is certainly suggestive of the Mosaic legislation, cf. Ex. 15:26; 16:28, etc. And what is more natural than that the great legislator, who in recording the history of their ancestors had prominent regard to the instruction of his contemporaries, should commend the obedience of Abraham in terms which would make it a fit model for themselves?

Isaac's life was to such an extent an imitation of his father's, that no surprise need be felt at his even copying his faults and pretending that his wife was his sister, vs. 7-11. A stratagem, that has proved successful once, is very likely to be tried again.

Nor does it create any special difficulty in respect to the recorded visit of Abimelech and Phicol to Isaac at Beersheba, vs. 26-31, that a king and general of the same name had covenanted at the same place with Abraham, 21:22-32. That successive Philistine kings should bear the name Abimelech is no more strange than the Pharaohs of Egypt or the Cæsars of Rome, or two Napoleons emperors of France, or two presidents of the United States named John Adams. Phicol may for aught that any one knows have been an official title or he may have been the namesake of his predecessor. That the name Beersheba should be reimposed on this occasion, v. 33, is not strange. That the writer regarded it not as a new appellation, but as fresh sanction given to one already in existence, is plain from his use of it, v. 23, and it is in precise accordance with the general statements, vs. 15, 18. These verses are interpolations by R in the opinion of the critics for the reason (which others may not deem conclusive) that J cannot be supposed to have referred to what is recorded in E.

#### 4. Chap. 27: 1-28: 9.

Chapter 27 is a puzzle to the critics. They think that they find several doublets, and that the text is therefore composite, made up of J and E; but they are not able to disentangle them so as to separate the two accounts or even to discover any points of difference between them. It is claimed, p. 274, that vs. 24-27a repeats vs. 21-23; that v. 24 instead of progressing from v. 23 goes back to v. 21, and v. 23 is as far advanced as 27a, each ending "and he blessed him." But this is precisely like other examples before reviewed. The ultimate result is first summarily stated, 23b; then further particulars are added, vs. 24-27a, which led up to this result. The alleged doublets are mutually supplementary. They are certainly not mutually exclusive. The blind old patriarch, doubtful of his son's identity, insists upon feeling him, vs. 21-23, and obliges him to say whether he is really Esau, v. 24. Then after partaking of what had been brought him, he asks as a final test to kiss him that he may smell the odor of his raiment, v. 27. There is in all this no repetition, but a steady, onward progress to the final issue.

It is further said that 30b repeats 30a, but it yet more exactly defines it; that vs. 35-38 repeat vs. 33,34, but the only repetition is Esau's importunate entreaty; 44b is repeated in 45a, but only because this was the thing uppermost in Rebekah's thoughts.

Some have proposed to give the whole of ch. 27 to one of these documents and 25:29-34 to the other. But Wellhausen insists that it is necessary to find both P and E in ch. 27, because subsequent portions of each of these documents alike imply the narrative here given. He is unable, however, to say which predominates in the chapter; and the connection is too intricate to admit of division. But in any event, both imply the statements in 25:23,27,28, and both alike represent Jacob as fraudulently obtaining his father's blessing and thus exciting Esau's deadly hatred. Here an attempt is made to establish a difference between J and E on the one hand, and P on the other, as to the reason why Jacob went to Paddan-aram. According to the former it is to flee from his enraged brother; according to the latter, 28:1-9, that he may not marry among the Canaanites, as Esau had done, but obtain a wife from among his kindred. P knows of no hostility between the brothers, p. 267. But all this is spoiled by the statement in v. 7, that "Jacob obeyed his father *and his mother*, and was gone to Paddan-aram." His father sent him to get a wife, 28:1-9; but his mother, 27:42-45, to escape Esau's fury, and there is no incompatibility between these two objects. There is nothing for the critics to do, therefore, but to pronounce the unwelcome words "and his mother" an interpolation. Let them adjust the text to their mind, and they will have no difficulty in proving whatever they please.

But tinkering the text in a single passage will not relieve them in the present instance. The hostility of Esau is embedded in the entire narrative and cannot be sundered from it. Why did Jacob go alone and unattended in quest of a wife, without the retinue or the costly presents for his bride, befitting his rank and wealth? When Abraham desired a wife for Isaac, he sent a princely embassy to woo Rebekah and conduct her to her future home. Why was Jacob's suit so differently managed? And why did Jacob remain away from his parents and his home, and from the land sacred as the gift of God for so many long years, till his twelve sons were born, 35:26, P. This is wholly unaccounted for except by the deadly hostility of Esau. Even the fragmentary notices accorded to P of the sojourn in Paddan-aram thus imply that Jacob had grievously offended Esau; so that here again P either refers to what J and E alone recorded, or else had given a similar account of the fraud perpetrated by Jacob, which R has not retained.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) שני חיי \* (2) גוע p.174. (3) מערת המכפלה \* (4) תולדת, p. 152. (5) הוליד, p. 168, Lang. of J, ילד. (6) אאל שרי † (7) פרה † (8) רבה † (9)

ארץ מגרין always P. It first occurs 17:8 in the promise to Abraham, and four times besides with explicit reference to that passage, 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Ex. 6:4; and מגרין without ארץ

\* Section 6, Language of P.

† Section 5, Language of P.

in one place besides, 47:9 also P. The corresponding verb גור is, however, used of the sojournings of the patriarchs alike in each of the so-called documents, P, 35:27; Ex. 6:8; J, Gen. 21:34; 26:8; E, 20:1; 21:23. (10) אלהים before explained.

NEW WORDS.

- (1) אל עמי always P.
- (2) אחריו מות 5 times in Hex., 3 times P, once D, once R.
- (3) אלה שמות always P.
- (4) פרן ארם P, 25:20; 28:2,5,6,7; 31:18; 33:18; 35:9,26; 46:15.

As in this and the following sections of Genesis all but a few verses is divided between J and E, it is not surprising that they have nearly all the words and P comparatively few. This is the secret of their "broad vocabularies," p. 257.

2) LANGUAGE OF J.

OLD WORDS.

- (1) בנא בימים.\* (2) יהוה (3) שום P, Gen. 6:16, p. 154. (4) גנא † (5) ארץ ומולדת p. 177. (6) אנכי, p. 174 (under 6:17). (7) טרם, p. 156. (8) פן euphemistic, p. 168. (9) אולי (10) פן, p. 155. (11) רק, p. 175. (12) לקראת (13) ליון.\* (14) עמד על.\* (15) בחוץ, p. 175. (16) הוכיח see under ch. 20. (17) מהר.\* (18) נשא עינים (19) אהל, p. 163. † (20) ילד (with father), p. 163. (21) ותהר, p. 155. (22) שקף.\* (23) ויעתק (24) ממשם † בעבור, p. 155. (25) מוכח, p. 175. (26) כרת ברית, p. 174 (6:18). (27) אתה, p. 155. (28) השכים בבקר.\* (29) על-כן (30) שמע בקול J, E, R or D, never P. (31) אך also in P, Gen. 9:4,5; 23:18; 34:15,22,23, etc. (32) גם † pers. pron. † (33) צעוק, \* (34) מקנה, \* (35) עפר also in P, Ex. 8:12,13; Lev. 14:41,42,45; 17:13; Num. 5:17; 19:17. (36) הפר †

NEW WORDS.

- (1) השמר לך J, Gen. 24:16; Ex. 10:23; 34:12; E, Gen. 31:24,29; Ex. 19:12.
- (2) שכם J, Gen. 9:23; 24:15,45; 49:15; Ex. 12:34; E, Gen. 21:14; Josh. 4:5 and in different sense, Gen. 48:22.

- (3) טבת מראה but twice in Hex., J, 24:16; 26:7.
- (4) הצליח J, 24:21,40,42,56; 39:3,23; E, 39:2; D, Josh. 1:8.
- (5) עשה חסד J, 24:12,14,49; 32:11; 39:21; 47:29; Ex. 34:6,7; Josh. 2:12,14; E Gen. 20:13; 21:23; 40:14; JE, Ex. 20:6.
- (6) חסד ואמת J, 24:27,49; 32:11; 47:29; Ex. 34:6; Josh. 2:14.
- (7) קדר והשתחוה 7 times in Hex., all J.
- (8) עתר 8 times in Hex., all J.
- (9) לאם J, 25:23; E, 27:29 all in Hex.
- (10) מדוע J, 26:27; Ex. 2:18; E, Gen. 40:7; Ex. 1:18; 3:8; 5:14; 18:14; JE, Josh. 17:14.
- (11) גרי עזים J, 35:17,20,23; Ex. 28:19; 34:36; JE, Gen. 27:9,16.
- (12) משש E, 27:12,23; 31:34,37; Ex. 10:21 all in Hex. except once in Deut.
- (13) תירש JE, 27:23,37; P, Num. 18:12, all in Hex. except in Deut.
- (14) שטם J, 27:41; 49:23; E, 50:15, all in Hex.
- (15) שכל J, Gen. 27:45; Lev. 26:22; E, Gen. 31:38; 42:36; 43:14; Ex. 23:26.
- (16) זה used adverbially only in J and E.
- (17) אחר (verb) J, 24:56; 32:5; 34:19; E, Ex. 22:23 in all Hex. except Deut.

RARE WORDS.

These have of course no significance.

- (1) הקרה also in P, Num. 35:11. (2) גמא §
- (3) משתאה § (4) מגרנות § (5) הלוה J, 24:35; E, 37:29. (6) צעיף J, 24:35; 38:14,19. (7) עיף J, 25:29,30. (8) הליעט § (9) שערים § (10) עברה § (11) סתם only in E, 26:15,18; (12) עשק § (13) מלך § (14) משעמים in one pas-

- sage only. (15) מתעתע § (16) חקמת § (17) אפוא J, 48:11; Ex. 38:16, JE, Gen. 27:33,37. (20) תריד § (21) פרק JE, 27:40; J, Ex. 22:2,3,24. (22) יברך § (23) מצלת J, 27:36; Num. 11:17,25. (24) במרמה J, 27:35; P, 34:18.

\* Section 6, Language of J. † Section 5, Language of J. ‡ Section 6, Language of E. § Only once in Hex.

## SEC. 8. GEN. 28:10-33:17.

## A. The Divine Names.

Two things are here observable, and have often been remarked, that in this portion of Genesis and on to the close of the book (1) the names of God occur less frequently than before; (2) Elohim largely predominates over Jehovah. Various explanations have been offered of these facts, such as the following:

a. Jacob was on a lower plane religiously than Abraham and Isaac.

b. His life was largely spent away from the holy land and among those not of the chosen race.

c. Since the relation of Jehovah to the patriarchs had been sufficiently established by the previous use of that name, it seemed less important to continue to repeat it and of more consequence to guard against the notion that the God of the patriarchs was a mere tribal deity by recurring to the general term Elohim suggestive of his relation to the world at large.

d. The fuller revelation of God as Jehovah in the Mosaic age threw that made to the patriarchs comparatively into the shade; so that while in the beginning in contrast with the times before Abraham the patriarchal age was marked by new manifestations of Jehovah, those granted toward its close seemed of inferior grade in comparison with the more resplendent revelations that were to come after and so more fitly associated with the general term Elohim than the personal name Jehovah.

e. The solution of the critics is that the materials are henceforth largely drawn from the document E.

We are not now concerned with the question what weight, if any, is attributable to the preceding suggestions, further than to say that the critical solution does not meet the case. If the alternation of Elohim and Jehovah is not in every instance regulated in as marked and conspicuous a manner as heretofore by the meanings of the names, there is nevertheless nothing counter to the general usage of the rest of Scripture in their employment, or that suggests the idea that it was mechanically determined by the particular document from which any given extract chanced to be drawn. In many cases either name would be appropriate, and it is at the option of the writer to use one or the other. And it is no valid ground of objection to the unity of Genesis, if a like freedom prevails there as in other books of the Bible, where it might often be difficult to assign a definite reason for the occurrence of Elohim rather than Jehovah or *vice versa*.

In Jacob's dream Jehovah appeared to him, 28:13,16, but the angels, v. 12, are called not "angels of Jehovah," which never occurs in the Pentateuch, but "angels of God," as 32:2, who are thus distinguished from messengers of men, the Hebrew word for "angel" properly meaning "messenger." This does not mark a distinction between the documents as though J knew of but one angel, "the

angel of Jehovah," while E speaks of "angels": for J has "angels" in the plural, 19:1,15. The place, where Jehovah had thus revealed himself, Jacob calls "the house of God" and "the gate of heaven," God in contrast with man, as heaven with earth. It was a spot marked by a divine manifestation. The critical severance will not answer here; for, if vs. 13-16 be excised as belonging to J, the vision of angels, v. 12, alone would not entitle it to be called the house of God, v. 17.

In Jacob's vow, vs. 20,22, the specifications respect God's general providential care, and hence he uses Elohim, while nevertheless in a manner perplexing to the critics, who find themselves obliged to erase the offending clause, he recognizes Jehovah as the God, v. 21, to whom he makes his appeal and gives his pledge.

The birth of Jacob's children is capable of being viewed in a twofold light, as the gracious gift of Jehovah, the God of the chosen race, or as blessings bestowed in the ordinary providence of God. Leah's first children, granted to her notwithstanding the disfavor of her husband, are viewed under the former aspect, 29:31-35. Those that follow in ch. 30 are regarded under the latter aspect, viz., the children of the handmaids sprung from the jealous strife of Jacob's wives, those of Leah\* after she had bargained for her husband's presence, and Rachel's son born after her long envy and impatience. Upon his birth she gives utterance to her hope that Jehovah would add to her yet another. Thus Jehovah begins and ends the series, encircling the whole and enclosing the providential favors granted between these limits.

The critics may object to this as an artificial arrangement; but they have nothing better to propose. The narrative of these successive births is plainly one and indivisible and cannot be rent asunder and converted into such a piece of patchwork as they are obliged to make of it. The style and method are the same, the language and phrases are the same, the narrative is continuous, each part bound to and implying the others. So that even Vater (*Pentateuch*, II., p. 724) with all his predilection for the fragmentary hypothesis, enters his protest against subdivision here and against the assumption on which it rests that the same writer could not use both Elohim and Jehovah; an assumption that is falsified by nearly every book in the Bible.

In 30:2 Elohim is evidently in place from the suggested contrast of God and man. Laban recognizes that it was Jacob's God who had blessed him for Jacob's sake; hence Jehovah vs. 27,30. It was Jehovah, 31:3, who bade Jacob return to the land of his fathers; but in repeating this to his wives, who were but partially reclaimed from idolatry, 30:11; 31:34; 35:2,4, he uses throughout Elohim, 31:4-13 (once, more definitely, the God of my father, v. 5), as they also do in their reply, v. 16. In like manner it is Elohim, who speaks to Laban the Aramean, 31:24,

\* Note Leah's lingering heathenism in her allusions to "fortune" (Gad) and "good luck" (Ashera) vs. 11-13.

and of whom Jacob speaks to Laban, v. 42, though both of them recognize his identity with the God of Abraham and of Isaac, vs. 29,42. Hence when they covenant, appeal is made both to Elohim and to Jehovah, vs. 49,50, cf. 53. Jacob's own prayer is addressed to Jehovah, 82:9. Elohim is used, vs. 28,30; 88:10, because of the contrast expressed or implied between man and God, and in 88:11 because Esau is addressed, who is outside of the line of the covenant.

**B. The Critical Partition. 1. Ch. 28:10-22.**

Guided by Elohim, vs. 12,17 sqq., and Jehovah, vs. 13-16, the critics parcel this passage between E and J. But J, v. 16, speaks of Jacob waking from sleep with no previous mention of his being asleep. He says, "Jehovah is in this place," which is explained, v. 19, to be Bethel. But if v. 19 is given to J, as seems essential and as is commonly done, two difficulties arise.

(1) The whole point of E's account according to the critics is to glorify Bethel as a sanctuary, p. 283; and yet he does not mention it nor intimate in any way in the entire passage where this scene occurred. Wellhausen tries to find it in v. 22, alleging that to be a doublet of v. 19; but it plainly is not there.

(2) J gives no suggestion how Jacob came to be at Bethel.

Verses 10-12 are absolutely necessary to explain the situation in vs. 13-16. They are equally necessary to vs. 17,18. Under the pressure of the latter necessity Kautzsch gives vs. 10-12 to E. But the mention of Beersheba as Jacob's point of departure, v. 10, implies Isaac's residence there, as recorded by J, 26:33, but not by E. And Haran, to which he was going, also points to J, 27:43; 29:4; it does not occur in E. But with v. 10 given to J, E lacks any proper beginning. Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 156) made the attempt to split v. 11 by assigning "he lighted upon a certain place and took one of the stones of the place and put it under his head" to E, and "he tarried there (where?) all night because the sun was set and lay down in that place to sleep" to J; but he gave it up as impracticable. Any division of the passage creates a gap in both documents, neither of which can be filled but by trenching upon the other. The whole passage is, moreover, closely linked with ch. 27, where we have found a critical division equally impracticable.

But in evidence of the composite character of the passage we are pointed to an alleged doublet, vs. 16-17. The latter verse is characterized, p. 283, as "a *clumsy* addition, which one writer would not make." With the best endeavor to do so I have not been able to comprehend the point of view, from which it can be considered "clumsy" and indicative of more than one writer, or anything but the most natural and appropriate exclamation under the circumstances. V. 17 does not duplicate v. 16, but is its suitable sequel.

The vision of the ladder and the angels, v. 12, cannot be separated from the revelation of Jehovah which follows, p. 283, and which, v. 15, interprets it.

According to its most probable interpretation, עֲלֵי upon it, v. 13, is an explicit reference to the ladder, though it may also be rendered "by him." A ladder reaching to the skies on which angels were ascending and descending might entitle the place to be called "the gate of heaven" but not "the house of God," v. 17; nor could it be said that God there appeared unto Jacob, 35:1,7 E. The preamble of Jacob's vow, vs. 20,21a, repeats in almost identical terms the promise which Jehovah had just made, v. 15. And 21b, of which the critics try to rid themselves because of its "Jehovah," is most appropriate where it stands, whether it continues the preamble, as is most probable, or introduces Jacob's own pledge. Jehovah had announced himself as the God of Abraham and of Isaac, v. 13, would he likewise be, as was implied in his promise, Jacob's God? But if this clause be, as the critics will have it, an insertion from J or an addition by Rj, it remains to be explained how either J or Rj should have fallen upon a characteristic phrase of P 17:7; Ex. 6:7; 29:45.

Wellhausen finds indications of a diversity of writers in the order in which the points of the compass are named, 28:14, W., E., N., S., but 13:14, N., S., E., W.; in "all the families of the earth" הָאֲדָמָה, 12:3; 28:14, compared with "all the nations of the earth" הָאֲרָצִים, 18:18; "in thee and in thy seed," 28:14, compared with "in thee," 12:3. But Dillmann and others have no difficulty in attributing all alike to J. The fact is that where distinct writers are assumed on independent grounds, there is no difficulty in gathering up arguments from varied words and phrases to sustain a predetermined conclusion; but these will be set aside without ceremony by the critics themselves when they have no end to answer by them.

## 2. Chapters 29; 30.

The critics here find themselves in a serious muddle. According to Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 65) ch. 29 bears so evidently the stamp of J, that the opposite view, which is perfectly arbitrary, needs no refutation. Wellhausen is just as confident that 29:1-30 is with trifling exceptions from E, while Dillmann compromises the matter by making nearly an equal division, and giving 29:2-15a to J and the rest almost entirely to E. Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 43) maintains that 30:1-24 continues J's history without the traces of a seam, with the same basis and presuppositions, the same manner and language; while in the judgment of Wellhausen and Dillmann it is "a very remarkable piece of mosaic from J and E." The trouble in 29:1-30 is that there are no divine names; the trouble is increased in 29:31-30:24 by the fact that there are divine names.

The arguments urged to establish the duplicate character of the latter paragraph are chiefly

1. The repeated occurrence of Elohim.
2. The different explanations given of the names Issachar, Zebulun and Joseph.

To the first of these Hupfeld replies

a. Elohim in 30:2,8 is no criterion because the predominant, if not exclusive, biblical usage requires it rather than Jehovah in such expressions as are there employed.

b. In the etymologies of the names, e. g., in vs. 6,8,18,20,23 as in proverbs, the general term Elohim as the more poetic would naturally be preferred.

Where there are two explanations of the same name he concedes that something has been inserted from another source. But there seems to be little cogency in this consideration. Issachar (*sachar* hire) is associated with Leah's hiring by mandrakes and hiring by the gift of her maid; Zebulun with *zabad* endow and *zabal* dwell; Joseph with *asaph* take away and *yasaph* add. These are not to be regarded as discrepant explanations of these names, implying different views of their origin or of the occasion of their being given, but simply different allusions to the meaning or the sound of the names, which by no means exclude each other. Such allusions are multiplied in the case of Isaac. The name means *laughter*; and we are told how Abraham laughed and Sarah laughed incredulously when his birth was predicted, and how God made her to laugh for joy and all her friends to laugh with her when he was actually born. There is no inconsistency in these statements and no need of parcelling them among different writers. It is the same writer playfully dwelling upon different aspects of a theme which interests him.

Dillmann<sup>4</sup> thus apportioned the record of the birth of Jacob's children: J, 29:31-35; E, 30:1-3a (including *bear upon my knees* as 50:23 E); J, 3b (*that I may be builded by her*, as 16:2 J); J or rather P, 4a; J 4b,5; E, 6; J, 7; E, 8; J, 9a; P, 9b; J, 10-16; E, 17-20a; J, 20b; J or R, 21; P, 22a; E, 22b; J, 22c; E, 23; J, 24. And this in a paragraph, which bears the most abundant and positive evidences of unity from first to last in continuity of theme, consistent method of treatment, cross references, style and language.

"Leah was hated," 29:31, see vs. 18,20,30. "Opened her womb," 29:31; 30:22 opposed to עָצַר *shut*, 20:18; 16:2, cf. 30:2. "Rachel was barren," 29:31; see 30:1sq.,22sq. "Conceived and bare a son," "called his name," "and said," 29:32, the same formulas with very slight variations recurring throughout. The language of the mothers refers in every case to the jealousy between the wives on account of Jacob's preference for Rachel and Leah's

fertility. הִפְעֵם 29:34; 30:20. "My husband will—because I have borne him—sons," 29:34; 30:20. עִמְרָה מְלֵדָה 29:35; 30:9. יוֹד 29:33,34, 35; 30:7,19. Bilhah, 30:4; Zilpah, v. 9, of. 29:24,29. Fifth, 30:17; sixth, 18, son of Leah referring to the preceding four, 29:32-35. "God bearkened unto," 30:17,22; with the whole paragraph, cf. 32:23; 35:23-26. In formality of set phrases and in repetitions it is equal to any paragraph attributed to P.

The critics may well infer that this portion of the story must have been very strikingly alike in J and in E, if R could thus pass back and forth from one to the other with no perceptible effect upon his narrative. The fact is that the paragraph is without seam woven from the top throughout and the critics have mis-

taken the figures deftly wrought into the material for patches slightly stitched together; and they try to rend it accordingly but it will not tear. There is really nothing for them to do, but to cast lots for it, which of the documents shall have it. If the paragraph had been purposely constructed with this view, it could not more effectively demonstrate the futility of using the divine names and alleged doublets for parcelling the text of Genesis.

The critical disposition of 30:25-48 is based on the unfounded assumption of discrepancies between it and 31:7sq,41 both in respect to the chronology and the contract between Laban and Jacob.

According to 31:41 Jacob served Laban twenty years, fourteen for his two daughters and six for his cattle. But, 30:25sq, the bargain about the cattle was made after the birth of Joseph, and, 29:20-28, Jacob was married to Leah and Rachel, after he had already served seven years. Now it is alleged that he could not have had eleven children in the next seven years. The fallacy lies in failing to observe that there were four mothers. The narrative is linked throughout by *Waw* Consecutive: but this does not prove that each several clause follows its predecessor in regular chronological succession.\* The children are grouped by their mothers, and thus the order of thought deviates from the order of time. Rachel's jealousy was roused and Bilhah introduced to Jacob, 30:1sq., before Leah ceased bearing, 29:35. Leah's four sons were born in rapid succession, and as soon as she found that she was not at once to have another, 30:9, she substituted Zilpah, and before Zilpah had her second son, she had herself conceived her fifth, v. 17. Thus her sixth son could be born within the seven years, and Joseph's birth have taken place about the same time. Dinah, v. 21, was born afterwards and is not to be included within the period in question. The alleged discrepancy accordingly is not proved.

How is it with the bargaining between Laban and Jacob? p. 284. The latter charges that Laban had sought to defraud him by changing his wages ten times, 31:7,41, but that by God's interference this had been turned to Jacob's profit. On the other hand, in 30:31sq., Laban assented to an arrangement which Jacob himself proposed and which Jacob, by a trick, turned to his own advantage. The two statements are not in conflict, but supplemental to each other. Chapter 30 describes the original arrangement and Jacob's device. Chapter 31 tells how Laban modified it from time to time with a view to his own interest, but his selfish plans were divinely thwarted.

The comparison of ch. 30 and 31 accordingly supplies no basis for the assumption of discrepant account from different writers. But Wellhausen fancies a discrepancy in ch. 30 itself, alleging that vs. 32-34 are inconsistent with

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\* See pp. 147, 148. Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuchs*, II., p. 351, appeals to Ex. 2:1, where though Moses was born after Pharaoh's cruel edict, 1:22, the marriage of his parents must have preceded it.

their context. He understands these verses to mean that the spotted and brown cattle at that time in the flocks were to constitute Jacob's hire; whereas vs. 35, 36, they were separated from the flocks and given not to Jacob but to Laban's sons. The difficulty is altogether imaginary and is simply due to a misinterpretation of the brief and elliptical statement in v. 32. The real meaning is, as Dillmann correctly states, that the speckled and brown cattle to be born thereafter were to be Jacob's; and as a preliminary measure those of this description, that were then in the flocks, were set apart as Laban's.

The doublets alleged are quite trivial and appear at once upon examination to be unreal, v. 28a does not repeat 25b, but supplements it. Verse 26b is repeated in 29, but it is for the sake of adding 30, that Jacob might impress upon Laban the obligation under which he had already laid him. Verse 31a repeats the offer 28, which Jacob had declined to answer in the first instance, preferring to give Laban an idea of what he was entitled to, before he made any demand. Dillmann himself sets aside Wellhausen's suggestion that 39a is a doublet of 38b. The central clause of v. 40 is magisterially declared be a later insertion, but as no reason is given, and none is apparent, no answer is necessary. These can scarcely be regarded as establishing the existence of a composite text, derived from distinct sources.

And the argument from language is, if possible, weaker still. Dillmann has but three expressions to adduce in proof that 30:25-43 belong to J. One of these פֶּרֶץ occurs likewise in E, Ex. 1:12; בְּגִלְלִי is found in the Hex. (Deut. excepted) but twice beside, so that מִצֵּאת חֵן is the only one that has even any seeming force. And against this stands the damaging admission that "J has here adopted many individual expressions from E."

### 3. Ch. 31:1-43.

Chapter 31:1-43 is by the critics mainly assigned to E, on account of the repeated occurrence of Elohim, its alleged contrariety to ch. 30 and the revelations in dreams to Jacob, v. 11sq., and Laban, v. 24, all which have been sufficiently explained already; also the reference in v. 13 to 28:20sq. which we have no disposition to dispute. This passage is assigned by the critics to E, but it has already been shown to be intimately connected with vs. 13-16, J, from which the attempt is vainly made to sunder it.

Dillmann further urges the following expressions: תְּרַפִּים vs. 19, 34, 35 occurs nowhere else in Hex., being limited to this passage which is in question. לִבְנֵי הָאָרָמִי vs. 20, 24 nowhere in E but in this passage; besides only 25:20, P, cf. 28:25 P, and once in Deut. אָמַר v. 33 is made a criterion of E and every passage containing it is for that reason, if possible, ascribed to E;

but besides being found several times in Deut., it occurs Ex. 20:10 in connection with P phrases and an allusion to P, Gen. 2:2,3, also in Lev. 25: 6, 44b P (Dill.); שְׁפֹרָה occurs instead in E, Gen. 20:14; 30:18, and it is only by the questionable device of cutting a clause out of an E context and assigning it to P or J that the admission is escaped that E uses it also in 29:24,

29; 30:4,7. לָבַב occurs five times in J according to Dillmann, Lev. 19:17; 26:36,41; Num. 15:39; Josh. 7:5 to six times in E. כָּוַר in a local sense *here* v. 37, for which 22:5; Num. 23:16 E, Ex. 2:12, E (Dill.), J (Well.), are cited as additional examples; but there is no such deviation from the ordinary meaning of the particle as to suggest the peculiarity of some particular writer. פָּחַד v. 42, cf. 53

nowhere else; and even פָּחַד besides in Hex. only in Deut. and Ex. 15:16 a passage supposed to have been borrowed by E from an older document but not written by him. כָּנִים vs. 7,41 nowhere else. How an argument can be drawn from these expressions in favor of E rather than J as the author of this paragraph, is hard to see.

It is claimed that, while this paragraph is for the most part from E, vs. 1,3, 21b,25,27 are insertions from J. But v. 2 is not an idle repetition of v. 1; it is additional to it. Laban as well as his sons had become disaffected towards Jacob. And both together prepare the way for v. 3, which stands in no special relation to v. 1, as the scheme of the critics implies. Nor does v. 3 interrupt the connection. It supplies the occasion of v. 4; and v. 5 explicitly refers to and repeats the language of both v. 2 and v. 3. It is true that v. 3 has "Jehovah," which is unwelcome to the critics here, but it cannot be helped. It is precisely equivalent to "the God of my father," v. 5. The verse is appropriate and required where it stands, and Jacob adopts its very words, v. 13, in reciting at length to his wives what is briefly and summarily stated in this verse. The expression כָּל אֲשֶׁר ל descriptive of property is not peculiar to J, as Hupfeld would make it (Quellen, p. 161, note). It is found also in E, 31:21; 32:24; 45:10,11, and, but for the critical splitting of the sentence, in 46:1.

The middle clause of v. 21 is no superfluous repetition. The account of Jacob's leaving, vs. 17,18, is interrupted by a necessary digression, vs. 19,20, explaining that it was without Laban's knowledge. Verse 21a resumes the notice of his departure; 21b repeats the opening words of v. 17 to add that he crossed the Euphrates; 21c states the direction of his flight. All proceeds regularly and naturally.

That Laban's pursuit was successful is summarily stated, 23b. Then further details are given: Laban's dream before he came up with Jacob, v. 24; Laban's overtaking Jacob, and the respective location of the two parties, v. 25. There is no doublet here any more than there is in the various instances of like nature which have been reviewed before. Nor is v. 27 a doublet of v. 26. If the repetition of a thought so prominent in Laban's mind offends the critics, how is it that they can refer v. 27 with its triple repetition to a single writer?

According to Wellhausen, vs. 10,12 are an interpolation of uncertain origin. Dillmann, who deals largely in transpositions to accomplish critical ends or to relieve fancied difficulties, thinks that R took them from a narrative of E, which he had omitted in its proper place, and inserted them here rather inappropriately in this address of Jacob to his wives. What motive he could have had for such a piece of stupidity we are not informed. The genuineness of the verses is saved, but it is at the expense of R's good sense.

When a writer has occasion to speak of the same matter in different connections, three different courses are open to him. He may narrate it both times in all its details, he may narrate it fully in the first instance and refer to it more briefly afterwards, or he may content himself with a brief statement at first reserving the details until he recurs to it again. In the directions to build the tabernacle minute specifications are given, Ex. 25:10—ch. 30; in its actual construction all the details are stated afresh, 36:8—ch. 39, the sacredness of the edifice making it essential to note the exactness with which the divine directions were carried into effect in every particular. But while the detailed directions are given for building the ark, Gen. 6:14sq., in recording its construction, the general statement is deemed sufficient that Noah did as he was commanded, v. 22. Pharaoh's dreams, because of their importance in the history, are twice narrated in full and in almost identical language, Gen. 41:1—7, 17—24. So the dream of Laban, 31:24, 29, the story of Abraham's servant, 24:3sq., 37sq., the fiat of creation, Gen. 1, etc. But the dreams of Joseph, 37:5sq., and of Pharaoh's servants, 40:5, 9sq., are simply mentioned as facts and the details given, when they came to be narrated by the dreamers.

In the instance at present before us instead of twice recording the divine communication made to Jacob in all its details, the writer simply states at first that Jehovah directed Jacob to return to the land of his fathers, 31:3, leaving a more minute account of the whole matter to be introduced subsequently in a recital by Jacob. It is entirely appropriate in the connection that the revelation here made to Jacob should concern both his relation to Laban and his return to Canaan. The only difficulty is created by the needless assumption that things are here combined which belong to different periods of time; that what is said respecting the cattle must belong to the early period of Laban's dealings with Jacob,\* while it is here united in the same dream with the command to return to Canaan. The dream is retrospective and was intended to teach Jacob that while he had been relying upon his own arts to increase his compensation the true cause of his prosperity was in the favor of God. Wellhausen alleges that the words of the divine angel must have begun with the words, "I am the God," etc., v. 13; but this is disposed of by a reference to Ex. 3:4—6. Dillmann remarks that E uses כָּרָד, 31:10, 12, where J has טְלוּא; 30:32, 33; but that absolute precision in the use of these terms is not aimed at is apparent from the fact that J, 30:35, uses עֵקֶד and נֶקֶד interchangeably, but, v. 39, distinguishes between them.

Verse 18 (except the first clause) is assigned to P. It has the usual phrases of patriarchal removals, cf. 12:5; 13:6; 36:6, 7; 46:6. The resemblance between

\* עַל יְחִים צֹאן denotes a season of the year, the time of copulation of flocks, and should be rendered "the time that flocks conceive" as a usual thing, rather than "conceived," as though the reference were to a definite event in the past. It is as applicable, therefore, to the last year of Jacob's abode with Laban as to any that had preceded.

these verses is certainly such as to suggest their common origin; and the critics refer them uniformly to P, but upon what ground it is difficult to see. It is at variance with the connection in every individual case; 12:5; 13:6 are torn from a J context; 31:18; 46:6 from an E context,\* and the context of 36:6,7 is disputed. The minute specification of particulars, alleged to be characteristic of P, is no greater than in 32:6,23 J; 34:28,29 R taken perhaps from E; 45:10 E or J. Of the words and phrases said to be indicative of P, not one is peculiar to him. "To go to his father" links it with 35:27 P indeed, but equally with 28:21 E. No good reason can be given why these verses should not be reckoned an integral part of the context in which they are found. This is particularly so in this instance, in which the presence of E words† at the beginning makes it necessary to partition the sentence, leaving only an incomplete fragment for P, in which nevertheless one of these very words (מִקְנֵה) recurs, as it does also in a like connection, 36:6.

רָכַשׁ (verb) occurs only in the series of passages now in question. רֶכֶשׁ (noun) occurs besides in Gen. 14 (four times), 15:14 R in a J chapter, Num. 16:32 R in a JE passage, 35:3 P. Its belonging to P once out of seven times is a slender argument for making it characteristic of P and dragging these other passages after

it. קָנִין besides 31:18; 36:6 which are now in question occurs in the Hex. only, 34:23; Josh. 14:4 P, and Lev. 22:11, which according to Well. is not P. פָּרָן אֶרֶם assigned to P 33:18 in a JE connection; in 46:15 the critics are not agreed whether it belongs to P. אֶרֶץ בְּנֵעַן in J and E as well as P; see Sec.5, Language of P.

But accepting the partition on the sole dictum of the critics, the result is an enormous gap in P. He makes no mention of Jacob's arrival in Paddan-aram, or of his residence there, or anything that occurred during his stay in that region, not even of his marriage, the one sole purpose for which he went, as the critics understand P, or of the birth of his children or of his accumulation of property. There are only the disconnected and consequently unmeaning statements, 29:24,29, that Laban gave maids to his two daughters, and, 30:22, that God remembered Rachel; but what either the daughters or their maids had to do with the life of Jacob does not appear. And now Jacob is returning with cattle and property, to which there has been no previous allusion and no suggestion of how they were obtained but no hint that he had a family.‡ J and E supply what is lacking, though a marriage was no part of the purpose with which according to them Jacob left his home. And further P at a later time, 35:22-26, recites the names of Jacob's children in the

\* The supplementary hypothesis, which identified E and P, had a basis here for the reference of these verses to the "Grundschrift," which the present critical hypothesis has not.

† מִקְנֵה claimed for J or JE, p. 246; 17] which recurs in E, v. 28, with explicit reference to this passage, and is found besides in Hex. (except twice in Deut.), Ex. 8:1; 14:25 E; Ex. 10:18 J. If to avoid mutilating the sentence the whole verse is given to P, the argument from the JE use of these words elsewhere is confessed to be worthless.

‡ The supplementary hypothesis, which made E and P one document, here again escaped this incongruity.

order of their birth and refers them to their different mothers in exact accordance with the detailed account in JE which is thus presupposed. What the critics sunder from P is thus an essential part of his narrative. And it is necessary for them to resort again to the assumption that P did write just such an account as we find in J and E, but R has not preserved it. Nevertheless R, who has here dropped P's entire story at a most important epoch, that which laid the foundation for the tribal division of Israel, and thus reduced his narrative to incoherent fragments, elsewhere introduces clauses and sentences which in the judgment of the critics are quite superfluous repetitions of what had been more fully stated before, for the mere sake of preserving everything contained in his sources.\*

But the strangest feature of P's whole account is thus clearly and succinctly stated, p. 276 :

“The absence of the theological element is quite conspicuous: (1) The daily life of the patriarchs (with the exception of a few special and formal theophanies) is barren of all religious worship. (2) This is especially noticeable in the case of Jacob; he leaves home to seek for the wife who is to be the mother of Israel; he sojourns many years in the land from which Abram was by special command sent away; he marries according to the instruction of his parents, and begets the children who are to become the tribes of Israel;—still no sacrifice or offering is made to God for his providential care, not even a prayer is addressed to the Deity. (3) Nor does God, on his part, descend to take part or interest in human affairs; He gives no encouragement to Jacob as he leaves home, nor does he send any word to him to return.”

This comes near enough to the “unthinkable” to be a refutation of that critical analysis, which is responsible for such a result. P is the priestly narrator, to whom the ordinances of worship are supremely sacred and they absorb his whole interest; whose history of the patriarchs is only preliminary and subsidiary to the law regulating the services of the sanctuary. The patriarchs are to him the heroes, and the models of Israel, whom, we are told, he is so intent on glorifying that he reports none of their weaknesses, no strifes, no act of disingenuousness, no strange gods in their households, nothing low or degrading. He singles out for prominent mention the sabbath, 2:2,8; the prohibition of eating blood, 9:4; the ordinance of circumcision, 17:10 sqq. God appears to Abraham and establishes his covenant with him and with his seed, with the express condition of his walking before him and being perfect, i. e., wholehearted in his service, 17:1 sqq. And yet P's account of the patriarchs, as the critics furnish it to us, is almost absolutely denuded of any religious character. Is P really so absurd and self-contradictory, or have the critics made a mistake?

\* E. g., 7:17,22,23; 8:2b,3a; 13:6; 19:29.

## 4. Ch. 31:44-32:3.

The account of the covenant between Laban and Jacob is in the opinion of the critics a mass of doublets and glosses. There are two monuments, a pillar, 45, and a heap of stones, 46; two covenant meals, 46b,54; two names with their respective etymologies, 48,49; two (or rather three) appeals to God to watch, witness, and judge between them, 49,50,53; and the substance of the contract is stated twice and in different terms, 50,52. The symmetry of this statement is somewhat spoiled by the triplicity of one of the items. But the passage would seem to afford ample scope for critical acumen. The result is that J, 46,48-50, tells of the heap of stones in pledge that Jacob would treat his wives as he should, with some dislocations to be sure, which Dillmann corrects as usual by the necessary transpositions; the covenant meal, 46b, and the naming of the heap, 48b, ought to come after the engagement, 50. Of course R is charged with having removed these clauses from their proper place and no very good reason is given for his having done so. E, 45,47,51-54, records the erection of a pillar as a boundary between the Hebrews on the one side and the Arameans on the other.

But Delitzsch mars this arrangement by calling attention to Jehovah in v. 49, and Elohim in v. 50, showing that both J and E related Jacob's pledge in relation to his wives; also to the triple combination of the heap and the pillar in vs. 51,52, showing that J and E also united in fixing the boundary between Laban and Jacob. So that it appears after all that there were not two covenants, but two stipulations in the same covenant. Dillmann is further constrained to confess that E speaks of a לָבֵן "heap" as well as a "pillar" in v. 52, inasmuch as 47b is a doublet with 48b, and E as well as J located this scene in Mt. Gilead and was concerned to find an allusion to its name in the transaction. He clogs his admission with the assertion that E uses לָבֵן in a different sense from J, but after all the critical erasures made for the purpose this is still unproved. He has merely demonstrated his desire to create a variance which does not exist. And v. 47, which he assigns to E, is indissolubly linked with 48 J.

We thus have good critical authority for saying that one and the same writer has spoken of both the monuments and of both the contracts, involving of course the double appeal to God to watch over their fulfillment. And from this there is no escape but by the critical knife, of which Wellhausen makes free use here, as he never fails to do in an extremity. Verse 47\* is thrown out of the text as a piece of "superfluous learning." "Jehovah watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another," 49, and "no man is with us; see Elohim is witness betwixt me and thee," 50, must go also. "Mizpah," v. 49, which is a clear voucher for the genuineness of the doomed clause that follows, and a name which the

\*Tuch on the contrary finds in the Aramean name in this verse an apt parallel to the Aramean פְּרִי אֲרָם (for which Hosea, 12:13, substitutes the Hebrew equivalent, שְׂרֵף אֲרָם), and he refers both to the same author.

historian was at pains to link with this transaction as well as Gilead and Mahanaim, 32:3, is by a stroke of the pen converted into *Mazzebah* "pillar" and then ejected from the text. "This heap" with its adjuncts is twice expunged, vs. 51, 52a, and "this pillar," 52b. With the text thus cleared of obstructions he has a comparatively clear course.

It is obvious to observe further that the two covenant meals are a fiction. Upon the erection of the heap preliminary mention is made, v. 46, of the festival held beside it, which is then recorded more fully, after other details have been given, in v. 54. We have already met repeated examples of the same kind. Delitzsch refers to such parallels as 27:23; 28:5.

With the doublets thus disposed of the analysis, which has no further basis, collapses entirely. The carping objection that acts in which both participated are, vs. 45,46, attributed to Jacob, and, v. 51, claimed by Laban, gives no aid nor comfort to the critics, for the discrepancy, such as it is, is between contiguous verses of the same document. The utmost that could result, if the discrepancy were a real one, would be to justify Wellhausen in eliminating "Jacob" from the text of vs. 45,46. The suspicion cast upon "the God of their father," v. 53, because the verb is interposed between it and "the God of Nahor," with which it is in apposition, is also a pure question of textual criticism without further consequences. But it might be supposed that such strenuous antitraditionalists as the critics would look with a kindly eye upon this phrase, by which Laban would class Abraham with the innovators.

It may further be noted that different terms to express the same thought do not always imply distinct writers; to "set up" (a pillar) is in E, v. 45, *הָרִים*, but 28:18,22, *שִׁים*, and 35:20, *הָצִיב*; and "collecting stones" is expressed differently in successive clauses of v. 46. Moreover the use of *לָקַח* by E, vs. 45,46, remarkably resembles what Dillmann claims to be characteristic of P, Gen. 12:5 and elsewhere.

##### 5. Ch. 32:4-33:17.

Hupfeld is commonly acute enough in detecting grounds of division, but here for once he is completely at fault. This entire paragraph seemed to him (*Quellen*, p. 45) to bear the most conclusive marks of unity in language, in the continuity of the narrative and in the close connection of the several parts, which mutually presuppose and are indispensable to each other. The interchange of divine names Jehovah (32:10) and Elohim gives him no trouble, since the latter occurs only where according to general Hebrew usage "Jehovah would not be appropriate," 32:29,31; 33:10, or "Elohim is preferable," 33:5,11.

Wellhausen admits that this whole passage is closely connected throughout and that it gives the impression of having been drawn from but a single source. "One will surely wonder," he adds, "at the idle acuteness which nevertheless

succeeds here in sundering J and E." He has discovered a doublet, which had previously escaped all eyes and by its aid he rends the passage in twain. Verse 14a is repeated 22b.\* He infers that vs. 14b-22a only carry the narrative to the point already reached by vs. 4-13. These two paragraphs are not consecutive as they appear to be, and as the nature of their contents would seem to imply, but are parallel accounts of the same transaction, drawn respectively from J and E. Other critics have followed in the wake of Wellhausen, as though he had made a veritable discovery. And a fresh evidence of duplication has been sought in the double allusion to the name Mahanaim, which E and J understand and explain differently. Only Wellhausen and Dillmann unfortunately cannot agree how E did understand it. They are clear, however, that J regarded it as a dual and meant to explain it by the "two companies" or camps into which Jacob divided his train, vs. 8,9,11; whereupon he must have added, "Therefore the place was called Mahanaim." Rj prudently omitted this statement because of its conflict with v. 3. But such a mention of the name of the place by J is implied in 14a, "he lodged *there*." Undoubtedly "there" refers to a place before spoken of, either one actually found in the text, 32:3 E (the wrong document for the critics) or one that they tell us ought to be there though it is not.

About E's view of the matter there is not the same agreement. Wellhausen alleges that he took Mahanaim for a singular, and was correct in so doing, *aim* being a modified form of the local ending *ām*, and v. 22 he writes it as a singular Mahane; the name was suggested by his meeting a host of angels. Dillmann makes it a dual also to E, suggested by the two companies or camps, that of the angels and that of Jacob.

Will it be disrespectful to the critics to say that they seem here to have stumbled upon a genuine mare's nest? Different allusions to the name Mahanaim in the same connection are not an indication of distinct writers, as we have already seen repeatedly in other instances. And the preliminary statement, v. 14a, that Jacob passed the night at Mahanaim, followed by further details of what was done before the night actually arrived, vs. 14b-22, is quite in accordance with Hebrew style, as we have found again and again. There is no warrant in all this for the divisive and dislocating proceedings, of which it is made the pretext.

Further, according to the division of the critics, E, v. 18, presupposes the coming of Esau announced in J, v. 7, and all the arrangements made in E imply apprehensions which are only stated, v. 8. They are in fact so interwoven that they cannot be separated. And Dillmann finds it necessary to assume that vs. 4-7 are preliminary alike to E and J, though his only ground for suspecting their composite character is the twofold designation of the region, v. 4, as "the

\* The figures are those of the Hebrew Bible and correspond to 13a and 21b of the English version.

land of Seir, the field of Edom." Certainly no one but a critic intent on doublets could have suspected one here. Mount Seir had been spoken of, 14:6, as the country of the Horites. Esau had now taken up his quarters, provisionally at least, in what was to be his future abode and that of his descendants. This is here intimated by calling Seir by anticipation "the field of Edom."

But Dillmann has another doublet, which even Wellhausen had failed to see, and this exhausts the entire stock of arguments for the division of these chapters. Verse 23 is J's and v. 24 E's account of crossing the Jabbok. In the former Jacob crosses with his family; in the latter he sends his family before him and himself remains behind. And this is paraded as a variance, requiring two distinct writers. Is it not as plain as day that v. 23 is a general statement of the fact that they all alike crossed the stream? while, v. 24, it is stated more particularly that he sent his family and his goods over in the first instance and that a very remarkable incident occurred to himself, after he was thus left alone.

Here again the critics diverge, leaving us to form our own opinion as to the worth of the criteria on which their conclusions are based. Is vs. 24-33 by J, the author of 32:4-14a and 33:1-17? or by E, the author of 32:14b-22? Wellhausen says J most decisively; Dillmann says E with equal positiveness. Other critics follow their liking one way or the other. The decision, as Delitzsch truly says, is "purely subjective."

But all critical differences are sunk, we are informed, p. 284, in one grand consensus. "They are unanimous as to the existence of an analysis," whether they can agree upon any particular analysis or not. And we have had abundant exemplification of the fact, that where there is a determination to effect the partition of a passage notwithstanding the clearest evidences of its unity, it can always be done with reason or without it.

Dillmann's argument from the language for the partition of this passage is scarcely worth repeating. As far as it has any force, it simply indicates the common authorship of both chapters. The change of divine names is explained by Hupfeld. שפודה 32:6; 33:1,2,6 is found in E as well as J. The precise phrase רויץ לקראת *run to meet* occurs besides 33:4,

but three times in Hex., 18:2; 24:17; 29:13, all J; but לקראת occurs repeatedly both in E and J, see Sec. 5, Language of J. חצה but twice in Genesis, 32:8; 33:1; besides in Hex., Ex. 31:35 *bis* E; Num. 31:27,42, P (later constituents). מצא חן בעיני Gen. 32:6; 33:8,10,15, see p. 175 (6:5-8).

#### 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

(1) רבש. (2) רבש. (3) פרן ארם. (4) ארץ כנען. see above under 31:1-43 (on v. 18).

#### 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

##### OLD WORDS.

(1) יהודה already explained. (2) נצב על also in E, Ex. 5:20; 17:9; 18:14; Num. 23:6,17. (3) בברך but three times in O. T., 12:3; 28:14, J;

18:18, R. (4) אנכי, p. 174 (6:17). (5) לקראת.\* (6) ותהר, p. 155, (35). (7) עתה, p. 155. (8) הפעם, p. 155. (9) על-כן.\* (10) נא.\* (11) חן, p. 175 (6:5-8). (12) בגלל.\* (13) מקנה.\*

\* Sec. 5, Language of J.

(14) שום p. 154, שית also in E, Gen. 41:33; 46:4; Ex. 7:23; 21:22,30; 23:1,31. (15) מולדת p. 177. (16) עבדך † (17) ליון † (18) נשא עינים \* (19) †למה זה Gen. 29:2,3,8. (20) ילד †, p. 164 and under ch. 21. (21) אחר †, p. 163. (22) אחר (verb) †

NEW WORDS.

(1) פריץ Gen. 28:14; 30:30,43; 38:29; Ex. 19:22,24, J; Ex. 1:12, E, all in Hex. (2) אבן Gen. 28:16, J; Ex. 2:14, E, all in Pent. (3) ערר Gen. 29:2,3,8; 30:40, J; 32:17,20, E, all in Hex. (4) גלל Gen.

29:3,8,10; 43:18, J; Josh. 5:9; 10:18, E. (5) מאין Gen. 29:4; 42:7; Num. 11:13, J; Josh. 2:4; 9:8, JE. (6) בשר relative Gen. 2:23,24; 29:14; 37:27, J, all in Hex. בשר שאר said to be its equivalent in P, Lev. 18:6; 25:49, has not exactly the same sense, being used exclusively of prohibited degrees of marriage. (7) נחש (verb) Gen. 30:27; 44:5,15; Lev. 19:28, J, all in Hex. except once in Deut., נחש (noun), Num. 28:23, E; 24:1, J. (8) נחל Gen. 33:14; 47:17, J; Ex. 15:13, E, all in Hex.

RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

These, of course, have no significance whatever.

(1) מושף 30:37,38, J, nowhere else. (2) קשר be early 30:41,42, J. (4) עטף be late 30:42, J. (5) רפק 33:13, J. (6) חבק 29:13; 33:4, J; 48:10, E. (7) פתל 30:8, E. (8) דוראים 30:14,15,16, J. (9) נקב

30:28, E; Num. 1:17, P. (10) רהטים (Gen. 30:38,49; Ex. 2:16, J. (11) תקע 31:25, J. (12) צפה 31:49, J. (13) לאט 33:14, J. (14) לא יעשה 29:26, E; 34:7, J; Lev. 4:2,13,22,27; 5:17, P.

3) LANGUAGE OF E.

OLD WORDS.

(1) לון † (2) השכים בבקר † (3) אלהים explained above. (4) הבה, p. 176. (5) דין † (6) הפעם †, p. 155 (35). (7) ותהר, p. 155. (8) ותהר, p. 155. (9) נתן permit. (10) מקנה † (11) אנכי † (12) עתה, p. 155. (13) אמה †, p. 177. (14) אמה †, but in 30:18 שפחה, where the hypothesis requires אמה. (15) אמה †, p. 154. (16) אמה †, p. 154. (17) אמה †, p. 154. (18) משש \*\* (19) עבדך †, p. 155. (20) פן †, p. 155. (21) השמר לך † (22) גס † pers. pron. (23) ילד †, p. 164. (24) שמע בקול †, see under ch. 21.

(25) על כן † (26) הוכיח †, see under ch. 20. (27) כרת ברית †, p. 174.

NEW WORDS.

(1) פגע ב 28:11; 32:2, E; Josh. 2:16; 17:10 JE; Gen. 28:8; Num. 35:19,21; Josh. 16:7; 19:11,22, 26,27,34, P. (2) מנע Gen. 30:2; Num. 22:16, E; Num. 24:11, J. (3) תמול שלשום, Gen. 31:2,5; Ex. 5:7,8,14; 21:29,36, E; Ex. 4:10, J; Josh. 20:5, P. (4) התל Gen. 31:7; Ex. 8:29, E. (5) throw Gen. 31:51, J; Ex. 15:4; 19:13; Num. 21:30; Josh. 18:6, E. (6) חונן Gen. 33:5,11; 42:21, E; 48:29; Ex. 33:19, J; Num. 6:25, P.

RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

These, of course, have no significance whatever.

(1) מראשותיו, Gen. 28:11,18, E, all in Hex. (2) קלם, 28:12, E, nowhere else. (3) משכנת †, 29:15; 31:7,41, E, all in Hex. (4) רמה deceive, 29:25; Josh. 9:22, E, all in Hex. (5) זכר, זכר, Gen. 30:20, nowhere else. (6) זלב †, 30:20, J, nowhere else. (7) מנים †, 31:7,41, E, nowhere else. (8) תרפים †, 31:19,34,35, E, nowhere else in Hex. (9) הרביק 31:23, E, all in Hex., but once in Deut. (10) נטש permit, 31:23, E, all in this

sense. (11) הסכיל 31:23, E, all in Hex. (12) אל יד 31:29, E. (13) נכסף 31:30 bis, E, all in Hex. (14) כר †, 31:34, E, nowhere else. (15) חפש †, 31:35, E; 44:12, J; all in Hex. (16) רחל †, 31:36, E, all in Hex. (17) רחל †, 31:38; 32:15, E, all in Hex. (18) חרב †, 31:40, E, all in Hex. (19) קרח †, 31:40, E, all in Hex. (20) אבק †, Gen. 32:25,26, E, nowhere else.

\* Sec. 5, Language of J.  
 † Sec. 6, Language of J.

‡ Sec. 6, Language of J.  
 † Sec. 5, Language of J.  
 \*\* Sec. 7, Language of J.

‡ Sec. 7, Language of J.  
 † Sec. 6, Language of E.

## SEC. 9. 33:18-37:1.

## 1. The Critical Partition of 33:18-34:31.

This passage is a fresh puzzle for the critics, which they labor to resolve in various ways, and hence there is no little divergence among them. The difficulty here is not the chronic one of disentangling J and E, but of releasing P from the meshes in which it is involved. It is a notable refutation of the statement, p, 284, "whatever difficulty may attend the separation of J and E, the writer, P, as opposed to both of them, is always distinct and decisive." And it is a clear illustration of the fact that, wherever part of a narrative is conceded to P, it is interlocked with the other documents as closely as they are with one another. This passage is so linked with what precedes and follows in the history, there are so many references to other passages in it and from other passages to it, it is so allied by forms of expression and ideas contained in it to passages elsewhere, and all this runs counter in so many ways to the prepossessions and conclusions of the critics, as to form a veritable labyrinth through which it requires all their adroitness to thread their way.

The name of God occurs but once in the entire passage, 33:20, so that all pretext is cut off for division on that ground.

Ch. 33:18-20 completes an important stage of Jacob's journey begun 31:17 and continued ch. 35, while it is immediately preliminary to the incident recorded in ch. 34. The simple statements contained in these verses, naturally as they belong together, give no small trouble to the critics, who are obliged to parcel them among the different documents.

"And Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem, which is in the *land of Canaan*, when he came from *Paddan-aram*," v. 18a, is given to P because of the italicized characteristic expressions; and yet it explicitly alludes to Jacob's vow, 28:21 E, whose condition is declared to have been fulfilled, and hence, 35:1 E, the performance of what he then stipulated is demanded. There is no escape from this manifest reference in one document to the contents of another, but by striking "in peace" out of the text. Again, P here records the termination of an expedition on which he had laid great stress at Jacob's setting out, 28:1-5, but all between these limits is almost an absolute blank. P has not said one word to indicate whether Jacob had accomplished the purpose for which he went to Paddan-aram. Still further, Jacob's route, it is said, is purposely laid through the holy places Shechem and Bethel, 35:6,15. The fact is just the reverse of what is alleged. The hallowing of certain localities in later times did not give rise to the stories of their having been visited by patriarchs and being the scene of divine manifestations. But their association with the history of the patriarchs imparted a sacredness which led to their selection as places of idolatrous worship. Admitting, however, the explanation of the critics, why should P and J. 12:6,8, who

belonged to Judah, be concerned to put honor on the schismatical sanctuaries of northern Israel ?

“Shechem which is in the land of Canaan” : the relative clause is not a needless expletive, due to P’s customary verbosity, p. 286. It emphasizes the fact that Jacob has now at length reached the holy land from which he had been so long absent. And “Luz, which is in the land of Canaan,” 35:6, has the same significance ; the implied contrast is not with “another Luz,” but with another land in which Jacob had been ever since he was at Luz before.

Verse 19 is repeated Josh. 24:32, which records the burial of the bones of Joseph in the plot of ground here purchased, and by critical rules is assigned to E, who as a North-Israelite would be interested in this event as P and J would not. Jacob’s ownership of land near Shechem is confirmed by his flocks subsequently feeding there, 37:12 in J, who thus seems to be aware of a fact only stated in E. This peaceable purchase, however, is alleged by Kuenen and others to be at variance with the violent seizure related 34:25-27, as though this were a conflicting account from another source of the way in which Jacob came into the possession of property in that quarter. And yet v. 19 is plainly preparatory for ch. 34. Hamor is called “Shechem’s father” for no other reason than to introduce the reader to the prominent actor in the narrative that follows, 34:2 ; this can only be evaded by pronouncing “Shechem’s father” a spurious addition by R. E too, 48:22, refers to a conquest by force of arms, which must have been additional to the purchase ; a conclusion which Wellhausen seeks to escape by giving v. 19 to J (Judean though he is) and ascribing 34:27 not to J but to some unknown source. Jacob’s purchase recalls that of Abraham, ch. 23 P, and is based on the same principle of acquiring a permanent and a legal right to a property in the holy land. There is certainly as good reason to claim that they are by the same author as the critics are able to advance in many instances in which they assume identity of authorship as undoubted.

“El-Elohe-Israel,” v. 20, clearly refers back to 32:29 the change of the patriarch’s name, thus clinching Dillmann’s conclusion that the wrestling on the banks of the Jabbok must on critical grounds be assigned to E, whose anthropomorphism here equals that of J. But this name, 33:20, which points to E is linked with the erection of an altar, which is commonly distinctive of J, 12:7,8, etc. E for the most part sets up pillars instead, 28:18 ; 35:14,20. The text must accordingly be adjusted to the hypothesis. The only question about which there is a difference of opinion is, shall “altar” be erased and “pillar” substituted ? Or shall R be supposed to have had two texts before him, “built an altar” J and “set up a pillar” E, which he has mixed by taking the verb from E and the noun from J ?

Dillmann suspects that 18b is from J because of “encamped,” which occurs but once besides in Genesis, 26:17 J, though in subsequent books repeatedly both in P and E, and אֶת־פְּנֵי 19:13,27 ; Ex. 34:23,24 J, but also Lev. 4:16,17 ; 10:4 P

and Gen. 27:30; Ex. 10:11 E. If J relates what occurred at Shechem, ch. 34, it is certainly to be expected that he would mention Jacob's arrival there. So that P, J, E and R are all represented in fragments of these three verses; and one scarcely knows which to admire most, the ingenuity of a Redactor who could construct a continuous narrative in this piecemeal fashion or that of the modern critic who can unravel such a tangled web.

The stress laid upon circumcision in ch. 34 by the sons of Jacob recalls its institution in the family of Abraham, ch. 17, and the transactions in the public meeting of citizens resemble those in ch. 23, and there is a striking similarity of expressions in these chapters, e. g.:

כר-זכר	vs. 15,22, cf. 17:10,12.	טמא	vs. 5,13,27 is a technical term of
כל-זכר	vs. 24,25, cf. 17:23.	ערה	vs. 14, cf. 17:
11,14,23 sqq.	נשיא v. 2, cf. 17:20; 28:6.	האחוזו	of P from the critical stand-point
v. 10, cf. ארונה 17:8; 28:4,9,20.	סחר vs. 10,21,	שמע אל-	-ל
cf. סחר 28:16.	כל-יצאי שער עיר v. 24 <i>bis</i> , cf.	קנין	vs. 17,24, בהמה v. 23, אך vs. 15,22,23.

All this points to P as the author of the chapter. But according to the current critical analysis P knows nothing of the various characters here introduced, nor of the chain of events with which this narrative is concatenated; and in fact the narrative itself is altogether out of harmony with the spirit and tone of this document as the critics conceive it. It is E, 30:21, that records the birth of Dinah, evidently with a view to what is here related of her; just as 29:24,29 is preparatory for 30:4,9; 22:23 for 24:15 sqq.; 19:15 for vs. 30 sqq. Otherwise it would not have been mentioned, cf. 32:22; 37:35; 46:7. It is J and E that tell of the sons of Jacob, 34:7,27, cf. 29:32 sqq., and particularly of Simeon and Levi, own brothers of Dinah, 34:25. It is E that tells of the change of Jacob's name to Israel, 34:7, cf. 32:28, and introduces the reader to Shechem and his father Hamor, 34:2, cf. 33:19. It is J and E that detail the various trials with which the life of Jacob was filled in one continuous series from the time of the fraud which he practised upon his aged father and his brother Esau, viz., his compulsory flight, Laban's deceiving him in his marriage, attempting to defraud him in his wages and pursuing him with hostile intent on his way to Canaan, his alarm at the coming of Esau, and last and sorest of all the loss of his favorite Joseph. P makes no allusion to any of these troubles. They are all of one tenor and evidently belong together, and this disgrace of Jacob's daughter fits into its place among them. And we are told that it is alien to P to record anything derogatory to any of the patriarchs. There are subsequent allusions also to this history both in J 49:5,6 and in E 35:5; 48:22.

This chapter is thus strongly bound to P on the one hand and to J and E on the other in a manner that is not compatible with the original separateness of these so-called documents. Tuch, who recognized no distinction between P and E, unhesitatingly assigned ch. 34 to P; so did Ewald, Gramberg and Stähelin.

Knobel on the ground of certain alleged J expressions supposed that the original narrative of P was supplemented and enlarged by J. Hupfeld, unable to dispute the unity of the chapter, gave it in the first instance to E in spite of its admitted relationship to P (*Quellen*, p. 46), as Ilgen had done before him; but on second thought he assigned it to J (*Quellen*, pp. 186 sqq.), in which Kayser and Schrader follow him.\*

But it was reserved for Wellhausen to discover that what all preceding critics had accepted as a consistent narrative was capable of being resolved into two quite dissimilar stories. He inserts his wedge between vs. 26 and 27, and at one blow of his mallet the whole chapter falls asunder. In vs. 25,26 and again v. 30 the deed is imputed to Simeon and Levi, but in v. 27 to the sons of Jacob, i. e., the children of Israel. According to one account, J's, it was a family affair. Simeon and Levi avenge the wrong done their sister by entering Hamor's house and killing Shechem when he was off his guard to the great offence of Jacob. There was no circumcision in the case. Shechem had offered any dowry, however large, in order to obtain Dinah in marriage. We have no means of knowing how much was demanded; but, whatever it was, Shechem had promptly paid it. The other account deals with international relations, out of which perhaps the story grew. It cannot therefore belong to either P or E, but is of unknown origin. It is an affair between the Bne Israel and the Bne Hamor, whose capital was Shechem. The latter submitted to circumcision with a view to a friendly alliance, and when disabled in consequence were treacherously massacred.

Yet the evident allusions to this history in E oblige Wellhausen to confess that he must have had a similar narrative in this place as the motive for Jacob's removal from Shechem. It is also unfortunate for his analysis that v. 25 has to be reconstructed; for in its present form it implies the circumcision and affirms the assault upon the city and the massacre of its citizens, showing that Simeon and Levi had assistance. And this is confirmed by v. 30, where Jacob apprehends reprisals not from the Shechemites, but from the inhabitants of the land generally, and also by 49:5,6, which speaks of violence done to oxen as well as men.

Kuenen† agrees with Wellhausen as to the verses assigned to J, except that he considers it an open question whether J may not have "represented the circumcision of Shechem (not of all the citizens) as a condition laid down in good faith by the sons of Jacob." The remainder of the chapter in his view constitutes not a separate version of the story, but an addition by R, "one of the later diaskeu-

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\* In how serious a quandary Hupfeld finds himself in regard to the disposition of this chapter is apparent from the manner of his argument in reversing his prior decision. He says that the grounds for referring it to P are "weighty and difficult to be set aside;" on his original assumption that 33:19 and 35:5 belong to E, he cannot conclude otherwise in regard to ch. 34; nevertheless 49:5-7 compels him to assign it to J, while 48:22 makes it necessary to maintain that E had here a similar narrative which R has not preserved.

† *Hexateuch*, pp. 147, 326.

asts of the Hexateuch," with the view of giving an altered complexion to the narrative and bringing it into its present form.

Merx\* follows Böhmer in eliminating from the narrative all that relates to the dishonor of Dinah, the deceit of her brothers and the plunder of the city as interpolations. What is left is regarded as the original story as told by a writer in North Israel. It is to the effect that Shechem asked the hand of Dinah in honorable marriage, giving the required dowry and submitting likewise to the condition of being circumcised together with his people. But Simeon and Levi treacherously fell upon them in their sickness and murdered them to Jacob's great alarm. The rest of his sons did not participate in the deed. He thus saves the honor of Dinah, but takes away all motive for the conduct of Simeon and Levi.

The design of the original narrator was to affix a stigma upon Simeon and Levi, as these tribes adhered to the southern kingdom and the worship of Jerusalem. The interpolations of the Judaic Redactor were apologetic. They represent Simeon and Levi as avenging the honor of their house, while the other tribes are also involved in the transaction and are solely responsible for the plunder that followed.

Delitzsch† partitions the verses differently and finds two accounts by P and by J essentially agreeing. In both Dinah is seduced by the young prince, who then earnestly desires her in marriage; the circumcision of the Shechemites is made the condition in both; in both Dinah is taken off and brought back again. There is beside a brief passage from E, recording the capture and sack of Shechem simply as an exploit of the sons of Jacob.

Dillmann has still a different analysis, which is thus paraphrased, pp. 285, 289. P: "Dinah is seen by Shechem, the son of Hamor, the prince of the land; and he asks his father to get her for him as a wife. Hamor accordingly makes a proposition of intermarriage and commerce to Jacob's family. It is accepted on condition that the prince and his subjects be circumcised, which is complied with." J: "And he [= Shechem‡] takes her [=Dinah‡] and outrages her, loving her passionately. Jacob hears of the insult, but waits till his sons return from the field. They receive the horrible tidings with mingled sorrow and anger, and when Shechem proposes to do whatever they will ask of him, if only they will let him have their sister, they demand of him deceitfully [that he and all the people be circumcised‡]. He complies with all haste. Then Simeon and Levi fall upon the helpless city, slay all the males in it, and rescue Dinah."

\* Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*. Art. Dina.

† He remarks that נער = נער in each of the twenty-one times in which it occurs belongs to J or D. This is equivalent, we presume, to a retraction of his opinion expressed in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift* for 1880, Art. No. 8, that this as well as איה = איה is traceable to the manipulation of the text by later diaskeuasts, instead of being, as it has commonly been regarded, an archaic form properly belonging to the original text of the passages in which it occurs and characteristic of the Pentateuch.

‡ "This must be supplied from other material."

Now which are we to believe, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Merx, Delitzsch, or Dillmann? They each profess to give us the original form or forms of the story, and no two agree. Is it not apparent that the critical process of each is purely subjective? The critic makes out of the narrative just what he pleases, selecting such portions as suit him and discarding the rest. The result is a mere speculative fancy, without the slightest historical value. And what is so evident here in this discord of the critics, attaches equally to their methods and results where they follow in each other's tracks. The text is decomposed *ad libitum* into fragments of documents and emendations or additions by various editors and redactors. The whole thing is regulated by the will or the preconceived ideas of the critic and is a mere subjective creation with only basis enough in the literary phenomena to give it a faint savor of plausibility.

The abruptness of this narrative in P, who has made no previous mention of any of the parties concerned, has already been referred to. Its incompleteness (as given by Dillmann) is suggested by the unanswered question, p. 285, "What became of Dinah?" It is insupposable that negotiations of such a character should be carried on to the extent indicated and no mention made of the issue. It seems that Dinah could not have married Shechem, since P speaks of her as a member of Jacob's family, when he went down into Egypt, 46:15. If not, why not, since the condition on which it was dependent was fulfilled? Why is nothing further heard of this circumcised community at Shechem, and of the intercourse and intermarriages here anticipated? Is there any explanation of this silence, except that given in the verses which Dillmann has so carefully excised, and of which Kuenen justly says (Hex., p. 326), "I cannot see any possibility of separating these verses, 27-29 and the corresponding expressions in vs. 5,13" from P's account."

It is said, p. 287, that this story in P has "a legal purpose." It is surely very inconsistent in P to enact such a law as is here supposed. He informs us that Esau's marriage with Canaanites was a great grief to his parents, and that they would not consent to such a marriage on the part of Jacob. And yet here he is supposed to favor a general regulation for intermarriage with Canaanites on condition of their being circumcised. J's estimate of the Canaanites and of the peril of contamination from alliances with them agrees with P's, 24:3; 18:18; 15:16; 18:20sq., ch. 19 (cf. v. 29 P). Even on the principles of the critics themselves it cannot be imagined that P here sanctions what is in absolute antagonism to the positive injunctions of every code of laws in the Pentateuch, viz., E, Ex. 23:32,33; J, Ex. 34:12,15,16; Num. 33:52,55,56. Holiness laws, Lev. 18:24,25; 20:22,23; D, Deut. 7:3, as well as the unanimous voice of tradition, Josh. 23:12,13; Judg. 8:6; 1 Kgs. 11:1,4. And if P be thought to be post-exilic, it would be more inconceivable still, Ezra chs. 9, 10; Neh. 10:30. And if he formulated such a law, what is to be thought of the honesty or loyalty of R in perverting it to its opposite as is done in this narrative?

“Dinah, Leah’s daughter, which she bare to Jacob” is cited, p. 286, as an example of the superfluous precision of P’s style. How is it with J, 22:20,23, though Milcah’s relation to Nahor, and Nahor’s to Abraham had been stated by him, 11:29? “*The father of Shechem in 34:6 is superfluous;*” cf. vs. 13,26, J, and the repetition of “Dinah the daughter of Jacob,” vs. 3,5, J. “v. 9b adds nothing to 9a,” cf. the identical amplification in D, Deut. 7:3. It is confessed that the story of Dinah is “an anomaly” in P, as the critics conceive of that document. Does not its admitted occurrence there raise the question whether their conception is certainly correct? It may not be as barren of narratives as they suppose, nor fail to note disorders in patriarchal households.

The following are given, p. 287, as proofs that ch. 34 is “a combination;” the bare recital is sufficient to show their inconclusiveness and triviality. (1) “Verse 6, Hamor coming to talk to Jacob is hardly in keeping with v. 5, Jacob’s knowledge of the outrage.” On the contrary, I should think it to be the very thing that he would be forward to do. (2) “Nor does it go with v. 8, where Hamor speaks with *them* (not Jacob).” This simply shows that the critics are in error in excluding v. 7 and joining v. 8 to 6. (3) “Verse 7 does not fit in.” It is exactly in its proper place. While Hamor was on his way to see Jacob, the sons of the latter came from the field, so that they were all together at the interview. (4) “Verses 8–10 have one proposition, made by Hamor, with no offer for any insult inflicted, referring to intermarriage and commerce; while (5) vs. 11,12 have quite another proposition; here Shechem speaks; he asks for a favor, willing to give any dowry or gift; he wants Dinah without any reference to future alliances.” What reparation could be made but marriage, which is the thing proposed? And it is perfectly true to nature, that Shechem should have but one thought, his love for Dinah, while his father proposes general amicable relations, under which the acceptance of his son’s suit would follow by legitimate consequence. (6) “It is impossible that the writer of ch. 17, who made circumcision the holiest institution of pre-mosaic times, should make the patriarch himself use it here for such an immoral purpose; hence v. 13 cannot be from the same pen with vs. 14–17.” To record an act is not to justify it. Moreover Jacob is not credited with any share in the response, v. 13. His estimate of his sons’ conduct is given, v. 30 and 49:5sq. (7) “After v. 25b, 26a is meaningless.” It renders prominent the point of chief interest, which though involved in the preceding statement, deserved special mention. (8) “Strangely enough, when we put these opposing parts together, we get two different presentations, each throughout consistent with P and J respectively.” How far this is true may be judged of from the preceding discussion.

## 2. Chapter 35.

The divine names afford no ground for the division of this chapter, since El and Elohim alone occur. The reason is evident. The prominence here given to

the names Bethel and Israel leads to the quadruple repetition of El vs. 1,3,7,11, with which Elohim is most naturally associated, see v. 7. Verses 1-15 plainly form one continuous narrative. Jacob goes by divine direction to Bethel and builds an altar there, whereupon God appears to him and blesses him. The critics, however, partition it between E, vs. 1-8 (for the most part) and P, vs. 9-15.

Accordingly E, vs. 1,4,7, speaks of God having appeared to Jacob in Bethel and answered him in his distress, plainly referring to 28:12sq. But as the critics divide that passage, E tells of the vision of a ladder with angels; it is only J who tells of God appearing to Jacob and speaking with him. In v. 5 the danger of pursuit, from which they were protected by a terror divinely sent upon the cities round about, points to the deed of blood in ch. 34. But as that was only recorded by J, not by E, this verse is cut out of its connection and assigned by Hupfeld to J (in spite of Elohim) and by others to R. Verse 6a is given to P, because E calls the place Bethel, vs. 1,3. That, however, was the sacred name given to it by Jacob; its popular name was Luz. Nevertheless the consequence is that P speaks of Jacob's coming to Bethel, but E does not; and "there," v. 7, has nothing to refer to. Verse 8 is not "out of place," p. 288. It only interrupts the narrative, as the event itself interrupted the sacred transaction in the midst of which it occurred. Moreover the mention of Rebekah's nurse in E is once more a reference to J, 24:59, by whom alone she had been spoken of before, and that merely to prepare the way for what is here recorded. The question how she came to be with Jacob at this time cannot be answered for lack of information. The writer is not giving her biography, and we have no right to expect an account of all her movements. After Rebekah's death it was quite natural that she should go to be with Rebekah's favorite son.

P, v. 9, speaks of God appearing to Jacob *again*, when he came out of Paddan-aram, with definite reference to his having appeared to him the first time on his way to Paddan-aram, 28:13, as related not by P, but by J. The word "again" is therefore unceremoniously stricken from the text to make it correspond with the hypothesis. Reference is made, v. 12, to God's giving the land to Isaac; no such fact is recorded by P, only by J or R, 26:3,4. God appears to Jacob, v. 9, speaks to him in familiar and condescending terms, vs. 10-12, and goes up from him, v. 13. For some unexplained reason the comment upon it is, p. 289, "God's appearance to Jacob is as usual formal and distant." In what respect is it more so than in J, 12:7; 13:14; 26:2,24; 28:13; 31:3? "The pillar and sacrifice by a patriarch," v. 14, is confessed to be "a theological incongruity for P," as the critics conceive of him. The reimposition of the name "Israel," v. 10, and "Bethel," v. 15, is judged incredible by the critics and claimed as evidence of two discrepant accounts. But it gave no trouble to R, and need not to us. There are other like instances in the sacred narrative. That no explanation of Israel is here given is, as Dillmann confesses, because 32:29 made it unnecessary, and so is an

implied reference to that passage. Only his critical stand-point obliges him to assume that P must have given an explanation, which R has omitted.

P, 48:7, speaks of the death and burial of Rachel at Ephrath; but as 35:16-20 connects this event with the birth of Benjamin, the latter passage is referred to E on account of its alleged conflict with vs. 24,26 P, where Jacob's twelve sons are said to have been born in Paddan-aram, p. 288. And in like manner it is said, 46:15, that Leah bare thirty-three sons and daughters to Jacob in Paddan-aram; and v. 18, Zilpah bare unto Jacob sixteen. In Ex. 1:5 seventy souls are said to have come out of the loins of Jacob, including Jacob himself, cf. Gen. 46:26,27. Of the twelve tribes of Israel, Ahijah gave ten to Jeroboam, and left one for the son of Solomon, 1 Kgs. 11:30-32. 1 Cor. 15:5 speaks of Christ being "seen of the twelve" after his resurrection, although Judas had gone to his own place. R had no difficulty in understanding that Jacob's sons could be spoken of in the general as born in Paddan-aram, though Benjamin's birth in Canaan had just been mentioned. Is R's interpretation less rational than that of the critics?

To add to the patchwork of the chapter, v. 22a has to be given to J because of the reference to it in 49:4, and this carries v. 21 with it.

The inconsistencies alleged, p. 288, in connection with the age of Isaac have no existence. "35:27-29 makes Isaac still alive on Jacob's return from Mesopotamia; while 27:1,2,4,7,10 emphasizes his being on his death-bed when Jacob left home, at least twenty-five years earlier." Nothing is said of his being on his death-bed. Jacob was 130 years old when presented before Pharaoh; 47:9, in the second year of the famine, 45:11. In the year preceding the first of plenty he was, therefore, 120 and Joseph was 30 (41:46). Jacob had been with Laban fourteen years when Joseph was born, 30:25sq.; 31:41. Jacob was consequently 75 or 76 when he left home for Paddan-aram, and Isaac was then 135 (25:26). He was old and blind and might well say that he "knew not the day of his death." But he lived forty-five years longer and hence survived Jacob's return several years.

"But Isaac's age is troublesome in another direction, viz.: Isaac was sixty when the twins were born (25:26); he was then scarcely over 100 when Esau married (26:34); but this marriage, according to 26:35; 27:46 and 28:1-9, was the occasion in connection with which Jacob left home." The preceding computation shows that Esau had been married thirty-five years when Jacob left home; and there is no statement or implication in the text inconsistent with this. Calculations which ignore this interval are erroneous. Jacob was not "away from home about eighty years."

"How could Joseph be but seventeen years old (37:2a) after Isaac's death, if born while Jacob was still with Laban?" Joseph was thirty years old and in Egypt when Isaac died. But Isaac's death is mentioned where it is, in order to bring his life to a close before entering upon Jacob's family life in Canaan, as that

of Abraham, 25:8, and Terah, 11:32, are recorded before proceeding with the history of their successors.

### 3. Chapter 36.

No name of God occurs in this chapter, so that no plea for division can arise from this quarter. Nevertheless the critics are not agreed as to its source, whether all is from P, or if not, just what or how much has been taken by R from J or E. This is another instance in which the affirmation, p. 284, does not hold good: "Whatever difficulty may attend the separation of J and E, the writer P, as opposed to both of them, is always distinct and decisive."

Dillmann confesses that the language and style are uniform throughout; and that "the fine adjustment and arrangement" of the material in the chapter "speak for its unity"; wherein he differs from the allegation, p. 288, that "the disorderly arrangement of material is very conspicuous." It seems, therefore, that this is altogether a matter of taste, in which people may not agree. To the objections that the Horites, vs. 20 sqq., and the kings of Edom, vs. 31 sqq., do not fall within the author's plan he very properly attributes no weight whatever. The critics may, however, settle their differences among themselves. The only matters with which we need concern ourselves are alleged discrepancies and anachronisms.

It is claimed that 36:2,3 conflicts with 26:34; 28:8,9 in respect to the wives of Esau, pp. 288, 289. In the opinion of Wellhausen (*Komp. d. Hex.*, p. 49), "this is the most open contradiction in the whole of Genesis"; and he adds "either the entire literary criticism of the biblical historical books is baseless and nugatory, or these passages are from different sources." We thank him for the word. If the divisive criticism stakes its all on finding a discrepancy here, its chances are slim.

Nöldeke finds no difficulty in referring all to P and assuming that he derived his materials from discrepant authorities. And it is not easy to see why the original author, be he P or who he may, may not have done this as well as R. But the discrepancy is after all imaginary. It is quite insupposable that R or P or any other sensible writer should have inserted without comment or explanation the bald contradiction here alleged. That the passages in question are not altogether at variance and unrelated is apparent from the fact that according to both Esau had three wives; two were Canaanites, one being the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and the third was a daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nebaioth. The other Canaanitess is said, 26:34, to have been the daughter of Beerli the Hittite and, 36:2, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite. Now Anah, vs. 24,25, was the son (and not the daughter) of Zibeon, and it is plain that Esau's wife could not be the daughter of both Anah and Zibeon in the strict sense of an immediate offspring. Daughter in the last clause of v. 2 must necessarily have

the wider meaning of descendant, cf. also v. 39. Why not in the preceding clause likewise? Why may she not have been the daughter of Beerl, the grand-daughter of Anah and the great-grand-daughter of Zibeon, cf. Matt. 1:1 and comp. Ezra 5:1 with Zech. 1:1? the writer preferring to link her name in this genealogy with her distinguished ancestors rather than with her own father, who may have been of less note.\*

That she is said, 26:34, to be of Hittite and, 36:2, of Hivite descent is not more strange than that Zibeon is called a Hivite, v. 2, and a Horite, v. 20. The critics commonly insist that the former is a textual error and should be changed to Horite. Then if, v. 2, Esau's wife can be a daughter of Canaan and at the same time descended from a Horite, what is there in her being a Hittite to conflict with her Horite descent? The fact is that the names of the Canaanitish tribes are not always used with rigorous precision. Hittite, Josh. 1:4, like Canaanite and Amorite, Gen. 15:16, may be used in a narrower or a wider sense, either of the particular tribe so designated or of the population of Palestine generally. And the term Horite is not properly indicative of race or descent, but of a particular style of habitation: it is equivalent to cave-dweller. There is no evidence that the Horites might not be allied in whole or in part to the Hivites, and Hittite might be applied in a general sense to a Hivite.†

The only remaining ground of cavil is that Esau's wives bear different names in the two passages. So Tabitha was also called Dorcas, Acts 9:36, and Peter Cephas, and Joses Barnabas and Saul Paul. Nothing in fact is more common than the duplication of names, cf. Gen. 17:5,15; 25:30; 35:18; 41:45; Ex. 2:18 (and 3:1); Num. 13:16; Judg. 7:1; Dan. 1:7, etc., etc., especially at some important crisis or change of life. Chardin‡ says, "Women change their names still more frequently than men. Women, who marry again, or hire themselves anew, commonly change their names on such occasions." In becoming Esau's wives they left their own tribes to become the heads of a new race, is it strange that they should adopt new names?

Another alleged inconsistency is thus stated, p. 289: "According to 36:6-8 the separation of Esau and Jacob takes place as follows: after Isaac's death; for lack of room; Esau leaving Jacob to go to Seir; but according to 27:41-44 it is before Isaac's death; because of Esau's hatred or Jacob's deceit; Jacob departing from Esau to go to Haran. 32:4 says that Esau was already in Seir before Jacob reached home; but 36:8 locates him in Seir only after Isaac's death, i. e., after

\* Hengstenberg suggests very plausibly that Beerl (= *fontanus*) may be another name of Anah, given him in consequence of his discovery of the hot springs, v. 24. We may not have the data for determining with certainty which is the true solution. But so long as any reasonable solution can be shown to exist, the difficulty cannot be pronounced insoluble.

† In like manner Amorite is used, 48:22, in a general sense of the Hivites, Gen. 34:2.

‡ Quoted by Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuches*, 2, p. 277.

Jacob's return home." Esau with a band of men had a provisional residence in Mt. Seir, but it is nowhere said that he had entirely abandoned Canaan and removed his family and effects from it. He was present at his father's funeral, 35:29; and then the final separation of the brothers took place. Though he had fixed his headquarters for a season in Edom, he had no disposition to yield Canaan or to surrender his right to the paternal inheritance to Jacob, who had defrauded him of his father's blessing. And he came out with an armed force to obstruct his return to the land of his fathers. It was only after Jacob's fervent supplication, 32:9 sqq., and his importunate wrestling for a blessing on the bank of the Jabbok, vs. 24 sqq., that Esau's deadly hate, 27:41, was by divine influence changed to fraternal love, 33:4.

An alleged anachronism yet remains to be considered. "What is to be said of the presence of vs. 31-39 themselves? Could Moses possibly have written them? Does not v. 31 clearly show that it was written at least after the time of Saul or David?" p. 288. Verse 31 reads "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel."

The first impression upon a cursory reading of this verse might naturally be that it was written after the establishment of the monarchy in Israel. But a careful examination of the context reveals several particulars calculated to modify this impression. Eight kings of Edom are named in the verses that follow, who are nowhere else mentioned in the history; and we have no data for determining just when they reigned. No king is succeeded by his own son. It would seem, therefore, to have been an elective, not an hereditary monarchy. The death of the first seven kings is mentioned, but not that of the eighth, whence it is probable that he was still reigning when this passage was written. This probability is enhanced by the consideration that the writer seems to be better acquainted with the domestic relations of this king than of his predecessors; at least he mentions the name and lineage of his wife, which is not done in the case of any other.

There was a kingdom in Edom in the time of David, 1 Kgs. 11:14-17, and reference is made to Hadad "of the king's seed in Edom." He cannot be identified with Hadad, v. 36, or Hadar, v. 39, of the passage before us, as he seems never to have reached the throne. Moreover the expression used shows that the succession to the throne was then hereditary. The kingdom was on a different basis from that described in the verses now under discussion.

There was also a king in Edom in the time of Moses, Num. 20:14; cf. Judg. 11:17, as well as in the kindred nations of Moab, Num. 22:4; Midian, 31:8, and Amalek, 24:7; cf. 1 Sam. 15:20. We read also at that time of dukes in Edom, Ex. 15:5, showing that the kingdom was superinduced upon and co-existed with the dukedoms that are likewise spoken of in Gen. 36. From the death of Moses to the choice of Saul as king there were 357 years, 1 Kgs. 6:1; 2 Sam. 5:4; Acts

13:21; Num. 14:33. Now even supposing the king in the Mosaic age to have been the first that ruled in Edom, we must assign to each of his successors a reign of fifty-one years to fill up the interval to the time of Saul, which is quite insupportable; and the more so, as elective monarchs would in all probability be chosen in mature age, and their reigns be on the average briefer in consequence.

Furthermore, the fourth of these kings, it is said, v. 35, "smote Midian in the field of Moab." Midian was in alliance with Moab in the time of Moses, Num. 22:4,7; we are not informed that they were so subsequently. Israel occupied the plains of Moab before crossing the Jordan, Num. 31:12, and were thenceforward adjacent to its territory. This event was in all probability pre-mosaic.

Edom was so powerful and warlike a people in the Mosaic age, that Israel did not venture to force a passage through their territory, Num. 20:20,21. This seems to imply that the kingdom had not been recently established. The same thing may be inferred from the mention of "the king's highway," 20:17.

These various considerations conspire to make it extremely probable that several of these kings, at least, were pre-mosaic: why not all? Why may not the last of the series be the one with whom Moses had dealings, and this be the explanation of the fact that the series is carried no further? As Isaac died ten years before Jacob went down to Egypt, Gen. 35:28; 25:26; 47:9, Esau's final settlement in Seir took place 440 years before the exodus of the children of Israel, Ex. 12:41. This affords ample time for the establishment of the kingdom in Edom, and the reign of eight kings. If only Moses could have used the expressions in Gen. 36:31; and why not? It had been explicitly promised to Abraham, 17:6, and to Jacob, 35:11, that kings should arise from their seed. Balaam foretells the exalted dignity of the kingdom in Israel, Num. 24:7. Moses anticipates that when the people were settled in Canaan, they would wish to set a king over them like all the nations around them; and though he did not enjoin the establishment of a kingdom, he gave regulations respecting it, Deut. 17:14sq. That was the common usage of the nations. It was the prevalent conception of a well-ordered and properly administered government. Now Jacob inherited the blessing, and Esau did not. Yet Esau had been a compact, thoroughly organized kingdom for eight successive reigns, while Israel had just escaped from bondage, had attained to no such organization, had not yet had a single king. Why was not this a perfectly natural observation for Moses to have made?

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) ארץ כנען.\* (2) פון ארם † (3) כל זכר (4) קרית ארבע † in see Ex. 18:15 J. (5) אלהים (6) גוע, p. 174. (7) האסף (8) אל-עמיו † (9) נפש †

slave.\* (10) רכש verb and noun.\* (11) אל שדי † (12) פרה ורבה Lev. 26:9 J (Dill.); assigned to P in a J section, Gen. 47:27. (13) זרען אחרין † (14) ערלה † (15) מול †

\* See under 12:4b,5.

† Sec. 7, Language of P.

‡ Sec. 5, Language of P.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) רבך also in P Num. 36:7,9. (2) מקנה.\*  
 (3) חורה, p. 163. (4) נא.\* (5) מצא חן, p. 175.  
 (6) אהל.\* (7) עצב, p. 155. (8) במרמה.† (9)  
 אחר verb.†

## NEW WORDS.

(1) לפי חרב 84:26 J; Ex. 17:13; Num. 21:24

E; Josh. 19:47 JE in a P connection; also several times in Deut. and Josh. (2) מוזר 84:12 J; Ex. 22:16, all in Hex.

\* *Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.*

(1) רבר על לב 84:3, all in Hex.

## 3) LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) אהל, Sec. 5, Language of J. (2) מונח, p. 175. (3) אלהים.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) טמן 35:4; Deut. 33:19 E; Josh. 7:21,22 J; Josh. 2:6 JE; Ex. 2:12 J (Well.) E (Dill.). Derivative מטמן 43:23 J, all in Hex. (2) קשה

verb 35:16,17 JE; 49:7; Ex. 18:15 J; Ex. 7:3 P.

## RARE WORDS.

(1) חלקת השרה 33:19; Josh. 24:32, all in Hex.

(2) כברת ארץ 35:16 JE; 48:7 R, all in Hex.

(3) קשיטה 33:19; Josh. 24:32, all in Hex.

\* Sec. 5, Language of J.

† Sec. 7, Language of J.

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## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.

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### A. Gen. 37:2-50:26.

The first thirty-six chapters of Genesis have been discussed in previous articles; and no justification has yet been found for the critical hypothesis that the book is compounded from pre-existing documents. We proceed to inquire whether this hypothesis has any better support in the only remaining section of this book, "the generations of Jacob," 37:2-50:26.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

#### 1. The Unity of Plan.

The divisive hypothesis encounters here in full measure the same insuperable difficulty, which meets it throughout the Book of Genesis, and particularly in the life of Abraham and the early history of Jacob. The unity of plan and purpose, which pervades the whole, so that every constituent part has its place and its function and nothing can be severed from it without evident mutilation, positively forbids its being rent asunder in the manner proposed by the critics. If ever a literary product bore upon its face the evidence of its oneness, this is true of the exquisite and touching story of Joseph, which is told with such admirable simplicity and a pathos that is unsurpassed, every incident grouped with the most telling effect, until in the supreme crisis the final disclosure is made. No such high work of art was ever framed by piecing together selected fragments of diverse origin.

The critics tell us that the apparent unity is due to the skill of the redactor. But the suggestion is altogether impracticable. A writer, who gathers his mate-

rials from various sources, may elaborate them in his own mind and so give unity to his composition. But a redactor, who limits himself to piecing together extracts culled from different works by distinct authors varying in conceptions, method and design, can by no possibility produce anything but patchwork, which will betray itself by evident seams, mutilated figures and want of harmony in the pattern. No such incongruities can be detected in the passage before us by the most searching examination. All that the critics affect to discover vanish upon a fair and candid inspection.

Moreover, the story of Joseph, complete as it is in itself is but one link in a uniform and connected chain, and is of the same general pattern with those that precede it. With striking individual diversities both of character and experience the lives of the several patriarchs are, nevertheless, cast in the same general mould. Divine revelations are made to Joseph at the outset, forecasting his future, 37:5sq., as to Abraham, 12:1sq., and to Jacob, 28:11sq. Each was sent away from his paternal home and subjected to a series of trials, issuing both in discipline of character and in ultimate prosperity and exaltation. And the story of Joseph fits precisely into its place in the general scheme, which it is the purpose of Genesis to trace, by which God was preparing and training a people for himself. By a series of marvelous providences, as the writer does not fail to point out, 45:5,7; 50:20, the chosen seed was preserved from extinction and located within the great empire of Egypt, as had been already foreshown to Abraham, 15:13sq., that they might unfold into a nation ready, when the proper time should arrive, to be transplanted into Canaan.

These broad and general features, in which the same constructive mind is discernible throughout, are lost sight of by critics, who occupy themselves with petty details, spying out doublets in every emphatic repetition or in the similar features of distinct events, finding occasions of offence in every transition or digression however natural and appropriate, and creating variance by setting separate parts of the same transaction in antagonism, as though each were exclusive of the other, when in fact they belong together and are perfectly consistent, or by dislocating phrases and paragraphs from their true connection and imposing upon them senses foreign to their obvious intent. These artifices are perpetually resorted to by the critics, and constitute in fact their stock arguments, just because they refuse to apprehend the author's plan, and to judge of the fitness of every particular from his point of view, but insist instead upon estimating everything from some self-devised standard of their own.

Vater, to whom the Pentateuch was a mass of heterogeneous fragments, and who was ready to go to any length in the work of disintegration, nevertheless says\* that the history of Joseph is "a connected whole. To rend it asunder

\* *Commentar über d. Pentateuch*, I., p. 290; III., p. 485.

would be to do violence to the narrative." And Tuch, who finds a double narrative throughout the rest of Genesis, declares that it is impossible to do so here. "Several wrong courses have been ventured upon," he says,\* "in respect to the narrator of the life of Joseph. Some relying upon insecure or misunderstood criteria have sought to extort two divergent accounts. Others have held that the documents have been so worked over that it is impracticable to separate them with any degree of certainty. But we must insist upon the close connection of the whole recital, in which one thing carries another along with it, and recognize in that which is continuously written the work of one author." And he adds† respecting ch. 37: "This section in particular has been remarkably maltreated by the divisive document and redactor hypotheses of Ilgen and Gramberg without bringing forth anything but an arbitrary piece of mosaic work, which is shattered by the inner consistency and connection of the passage itself." The posthumous editor of Tuch's Commentary interposes the caveat that "since Hupfeld and Böhmer, the unity of the history of Joseph can no longer be maintained." But the fact is that no inconsistencies have since been pretended in this narrative, which were not already pointed out by Ilgen and Gramberg. Whether the later attempts to establish duplicate accounts have been more successful than those which Tuch so pointedly condemns, we shall inquire presently.

The urgent motive, which impels the most recent critics to split the history of Joseph asunder at all hazards is thus frankly stated by Wellhausen:‡ "The principal source for this last section of Genesis is JE. It is to be presumed that this work is here as elsewhere compounded of J and E. Our previous results urge to this conclusion, and would be seriously shaken if this were not demonstrable. I hold, therefore, that the attempt "to dismember the flowing narrative of Joseph into its sources" is not a mistaken one, but as necessary as the decomposition of Genesis in general."

## 2. Lack of Continuity in the Documents.

If distinct documents have been combined in this portion of Genesis, the critical analysis which disentangles them and restores each to its original separateness, might be expected to bring forth orderly narratives, purged of interpolations and dislocations, with the true connection restored and a consequent gain in each in significance, harmony and clearness. Instead of this there is nothing to show for P, J or E but mutilated fragments, which yield no continuous or intelligible narrative, but require for their explanation and to fill their *lacunae* precisely those passages which the critical process has rent from them. We are expected to assume with no other evidence than that the exigencies of the

\* *Commentar über die Genesis*, 2d ed., p. 417.

† *Ibid.*, p. 424.

‡ *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 52.

hypothesis require it, that these P, J and E fragments were originally filled out into as many complete documents, but that the missing parts were removed by R.

### 3. The Divine Names.

The divine names here give no aid in the matter of critical division. Yahweh occurs in but three of these fourteen chapters, and in only eight verses, each time with evident appropriateness. It is found in connection with displays of God's punitive righteousness toward offenders 38:7,10 (no other name of God in the chapter), or his gracious care of Joseph as one of the chosen race, 39:2,3,5,21, 23 (inseparable from the rest of the chapter, where Elohim is found, v. 9), and in a pious ejaculation of the dying patriarch Jacob, 49:18, (in the same discourse with Elohim and Shaddai, v. 25). Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 178, confesses the embarrassment, which the critics find from the use of אֱלֹהִים in the history of Joseph in a manner which does not square with their maxims.

### 4. Diction and Style.

Neither is the partition conducted on the basis of such literary criteria as diction and style. Mere scattered scraps are assigned to P, such as can be severed from the main body of the narrative, as entering least into its general flow and texture. The mass of the matter, as has uniformly been the case since ch. 28, is divided between J and E, which by confession of the critics can only be distinguished with the greatest difficulty. At times they are held to be inextricably blended; at other times arbitrary grounds of distinction are invented, such as assigning to E all dreams that are mentioned, or different incidents of the narrative are parcelled between them, as though they were varying accounts of the same thing, whereas they are distinct items in a complete and harmonious whole. Genealogical tables, dates, removals, deaths and legal transactions or ritual enactments are as a rule given to P. Historical narratives are attributed to J and E, and are divided between them not by any definite criteria of style, but by the artifice of imaginary doublets or arbitrary distinctions, leaving numerous breaks and unfilled gaps in their train. The method itself is sufficient to condemn the whole process and to show that the results are altogether factitious. It could be applied with equal plausibility and with like results to any composition, whatever the evidence of its unity.

## SECTION 10. GEN. 37:2-41:57.

### 1. Critical Partition of Chapter 37.

No name of God occurs in this chapter. It has, however, been variously divided, and it affords a good illustration of the ease with which a narrative embracing several incidents can be partitioned at the pleasure of the critic. Knobel,

the latest and most minutely elaborate of the supplementary critics, recognizes in Genesis only an Elohist Primary Document, P, which gives a comparatively trustworthy statement of facts, and a Jehovist Reviser, J, who incorporates with the preceding the legendary embellishments of later times. P's account, vs. 1-4, 23,27,28 (from "and sold," etc.), 31,32a, is that Joseph's reporting his brothers' misdeeds and his father's partiality for him so exasperated his brothers that they threw him into a pit, and then at Judah's instance sold him to Ishmaelites, who took him to Egypt; after this they dip Joseph's coat in blood and send it to their father. J adds from some other authority the prophetic dreams, Joseph's going in quest of his brothers, their conspiring against him, Reuben's proposal not to shed his blood but to put him in a pit (meaning, in the intent of the authority from which he draws, to let him perish there; but by inserting v. 22b, J converts this into a purpose to restore him to his father, and further introduces in the same vein vs. 29,30, Reuben's subsequent distress at not finding Joseph in the pit). J makes no mention of the adoption of Reuben's proposal, but this is to be presumed as Midianites pass, who draw Joseph out of the pit and sell him to Potiphar. Finally Jacob's grief is depicted at the sight of his son's coat, which was sent him.

The reigning critical fashion finds three documents in Genesis, P, J and E, though this chapter is parcelled between J and E, leaving to P only an insignificant fragment at the beginning. Vatke gives the entire chapter to E except one interpolation from J, vs. 25-27, and one clause of v. 28, (and sold . . . silver), which records the sale to the Ishmaelites as proposed by Judah. According to E, Joseph was carried off by the Midianites, who chanced to find him in the pit into which his brothers had thrown him. It does not appear from J that Joseph was ever put in a pit at all. So also Gramberg views the case from his peculiar division of the chapter, connecting v. 25 directly with v. 23; the brothers dissemble their spite against Joseph and sit down to their food, when they spy the Ishmaelites coming and resolve to sell him to them. Schrader enlarges the interpolation from J by vs. 23,24,31-35 with the effect of transferring the statement of Joseph's being put in the pit and of his father's grief from E to J. This still leaves the whole of the narrative prior to v. 23 with E, and nothing in J respecting the relation of Joseph to his brothers until suddenly, without a word of explanation, they are found deliberating whether to kill him or to sell him as a slave.

Wellhausen is too acute a critic and too ingenious in discovering doublets to suffer this state of affairs to continue. He remarks, *Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 53: "Verses 12-24 are preparatory to vs. 25sq., and are indispensable for both E and J. To be sure no certain conclusion can be drawn from this alone as to its composite character, but a presumption is created in its favor which is confirmed by actual traces of its being double." Acting upon this presumption he sets him-

self to work to discover the traces. It seems to him that "Here am I" is not the proper answer to what Israel says to Joseph, v. 13; and that v. 18 does not fit in between vs. 17 and 19. "They saw him afar off" implies that he had not yet "found them;" and "they conspired against him to slay him" is a parallel to v. 20. Verses 21 and 22 are also doublets, only instead of "Reuben" in v. 21 we should read "Judah," whose proposal is to cast him into the pit, v. 20, to perish without killing him themselves, while Reuben, v. 22, has the secret purpose of rescuing him. From these premises he concludes that while J is the principal narrator in this paragraph, as shown by Israel, v. 13, Hebron v. 14, and verbal suffixes *passim*, nevertheless 13b, 14a, 18, 22 and parts of vs. 23, 24, in which אָתוּ repeatedly occurs instead of a suffix attached to the verb, belong to E and represent his parallel narrative.

In vs. 2b-11 he is less successful in discovering traces of twofold authorship. These verses are attributed to E, who deals more largely with dreams than J, and who, moreover, has בֶּן זְקֵנִים, v. 3 as 21:2 against יָלַד זְקֵנִים 44:20 J; כְּתָנָה פָּסִים, v. 3, as vs. 23, 32 against כְּתָנָה J, and especially has אָתוּ constantly, vs. 4, 5, 8, 9, instead of a verbal suffix in marked contrast with vs. 12sq. "With the sons of Bilhah," etc., v. 2, does not accord accurately with the preceding clause, and "he told it to his father and to his brethren," v. 10, deviates from the statement in v. 9; but he thinks these to be additions by a later hand and not from J. He has, however, one resource; vs. 19, 20, J, speak of Joseph's dreams, consequently J must have given some account of them, though it has not been preserved.

Dillmann proves in this instance to have had sharper eyes than Wellhausen, and has found the desired doublets where the latter could discover none. To be sure he unceremoniously sets aside Wellhausen's criteria. He gives vs. 19, 20 to E (not J) in spite of repeated verbal suffixes which he will not recognize here as a discriminating mark, in spite, too, of דְּלִיזָה which occurs 24:65 J, and nowhere else in the O. T.; and accordingly he does not allow the inference that J gave a parallel account of the dreams. But the coveted parallel is found by setting vs. 3, 4 as J's explanation of the hatred of Joseph over against that of E in vs. 5-11. According to J, his brothers hated him because he was his father's favorite; according to E, because of his ambitious dreams.\* J says "they hated him," v. 4 וַיִּשְׂנְאוּ; E, "they envied him," v. 11 וַיִּקְנְאוּ. To be sure שָׂנְאָה occurs twice over in the E paragraph, vs. 5, 8, and with explicit reference to v. 4, clearly indicating the identity of the writer. But if any one imagines that such a trifle as this can disturb a critic's conclu-

\* Dillmann explains the allusion to Joseph's mother, 37:10, whose death is mentioned, 35:19, by his favorite method of transposition, assuming that the statement of her death in R really occurred after this time, but R for the sake of harmonizing with P, inserted it sooner. But it remains to be shown that Leah could not be referred to in this manner after Rachel's death.

sions, he is much mistaken. Dillmann blandly says that the unwelcome clauses were inserted by R, and lo ! they disappear at once. The word of a critic is equal to the wand of a magician. When he says that v. 5b is inappropriate where it stands because the actual recital of the dream follows, vs. 6,7, Delitzsch reminds him that such anticipatory announcements are quite usual, and cites 2:8. He says the same of v. 8b, because only one dream had yet been told, forgetting the numerous examples of the generic use of the plural.\* כַּתָּנָת and בֵּן זִקְנִים פְּסִים, v. 3, which Wellhausen adduces as characteristic of E, become with Dillmann indicative of J. Knobel remarks that v. 7 and 26:12 are the only two passages in the Pentateuch, in which the patriarchs are spoken of as cultivating the soil or otherwise than as nomads; they should therefore be ascribed to the same hand. The critics lay stress upon a point like this when it suits them; otherwise they quietly ignore it. Dillmann gives v. 7 to E; 26:12 to J.

Dillmann further finds a foothold for J in v. 2, by insisting that 2a and 2b are mutually exclusive and that the former should be given to P or E, and the latter to J. Delitzsch cannot see why in point of matter they may not have proceeded from the same pen, while in grammatical construction Gen. 1:2,3 offers a precise parallel.

Critics are divided in opinion as to the share which is to be allowed P in 37:2. By common consent they assign him the initial words "These are the generations of Jacob," i. e., an account of Jacob's family from the time of his father's death; and thus we have a P title to a J and E section. The majority also refer to him the following clause, "Joseph was seventeen years old," with or without the rest of the sentence, which then becomes utterly unmeaning and is out of connection with anything whatever. The only reason for thus destroying its sense by severing it from the narrative to which it belongs is the critical assumption that all dates must be attributed to P. But Nöldeke himself revolts at the rigorous enforcement of this rule. He says,† "The mention of the youthful age of Joseph suits very well in the whole connection as well as that of his manly age, Gen. 41:46, and of the advanced age which he attained, Gen. 50:26. These numbers also have no connection whatever with the chronological system of the Primary Document (P) any more than the twenty years' abode in Mesopotamia," Gen. 31:38,41.

It will not be necessary to proceed with the recital of the varying divisions of Kuenen, Kittell and Kautzsch, which are sufficiently indicated, p. 2.‡ The critics themselves have shown how variously the same narrative may be divided. And it must be a very intractable material indeed that can resist the persistent application of such methods as the critics freely employ. The fact that different

\* Cf. Gen. 8:4; 13:12; 21:7; Num. 26:8; Judg. 12:7; 1 Sam. 17:43; Job 17:1.

† *Untersuchungen zur Kritik d. Alt. Test.*, p. 32.

‡ References not otherwise specified are to previous numbers of HEBRAICA.

versions of a story can be constructed out of a narrative by an ingenious partition of its constituent elements by no means proves its composite character. They may be purely subjective, destitute of any historical basis, and of no more value than any clever trick at cross-reading.

It is alleged, however, that there are certain glaring inconsistencies in this chapter, which cannot be otherwise accounted for than as the fusing together of discordant narratives. Four discrepancies are charged.

1. Verses 21,22 it was Reuben, but v. 26 it was Judah, who persuaded the brothers not to put Joseph to death.

2. Verses 25,27,28, 39:1, Ishmaelites, but vs. 28,36, Midianites took Joseph and brought him to Egypt.

3. According to different clauses of v. 28, Joseph was carried off secretly without the knowledge of his brothers, or was sold by them.

4. Verse 36, he was sold to Potiphar, but 39:1 (purged of interpolations), to an unnamed Egyptian.

These imaginary difficulties are of easy solution.

As to the first. It surely is not surprising that two of the brothers should have taken an active part in the consultations respecting Joseph, nor that the same two should be prominent in the subsequent course of the transactions. Reuben, as the eldest, had special responsibilities and would naturally be forward to express his mind: while Judah's superior force of character, like that of Peter among the apostles, made him prompt to take the lead, and there is no inconsistency in what is attributed to them. Reuben persuaded them not to kill Joseph but to cast him alive into a pit, cherishing the purpose, which he did not divulge to them, to restore him to his father. They accede to his proposal intending to let Joseph die in the pit or to kill him at some future time. To this state of mind Judah addresses himself, v. 26. The absence of Reuben, when Joseph was sold, is not expressly stated, but is plainly enough implied in his despair and grief at his brother's disappearance. The reply which his brothers made is not recorded; but there is no implication that they were as ignorant as he of what had become of Joseph. That they had a guilt in the matter which he did not share is distinctly intimated, 42:22; he must, therefore, have been fully aware that they did something more than put Joseph in the pit at his suggestion.

As to the second point. Ishmaelites in the strict and proper sense were a distinct tribe from Midianites, and were of different though related origin. It is, however, a familiar fact, which we have had occasion to observe before, that tribal names are not always used with definite exactness, VI., p. 208. And there is explicit evidence that Ishmaelites was used in a wide sense to include Midianites, Judg. 8:24, cf. 7:1sq; 8:1sq. Dillmann's objection that this belonged to a later period comes with a bad grace from one who places the earliest Pentateuchal documents centuries after Gideon. The absence of the article before Midian-

ites, v. 28, does not imply that they were distinct from the Ishmaelites before perceived, vs. 25,27. They were recognized in the distance as an Ishmaelite caravan, but it was not till they actually came up to them that the Ishmaelites were discovered to be specifically Midianites.

As to the third point. If the first half of v. 28 were severed from its connection the words might mean that Midianites drew Joseph out of the pit. But in the connection in which it stands, such a sense is simply impossible. And the suggestion that R had two statements before him; one, that Midianites drew Joseph out of the pit without his brothers' knowledge and carried him off to Egypt; the other, that the brothers drew him from the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites; is to charge him with inconceivable stupidity or reckless falsification. There can be no manner of doubt how the author of the book in its present form understood the transaction. There is no possible suggestion of more than one meaning in the words before us. The invention of another sense may illustrate the critic's wit, but it has no more merit than any other perversion of an author's obvious meaning. And it derives no warrant from 40:15; Joseph was "stolen away" even though his captors bought him from those who had no right to dispose of him.

The fourth point can be best considered when we come to ch. 39.

## 2. Chapter 38.

Because the narrative of Joseph is interrupted by ch. 38, De Wette\* inferred "that we have here a compilation, not a continuous history by one narrator." The charge of displacement has been regularly repeated ever since,† though obviously unfounded. Chapter 38 is entirely germane to the subject treated, and it belongs precisely where it is in the author's plan. He is professedly giving an account of "the generations of Jacob," 37:2, not the life of Joseph simply, but the history of Jacob's family. Joseph is necessarily thrown into prominence since the events which brought about the removal of the chosen race to Egypt were so largely connected with him. But the incidents of this chapter have their importance in the constitution of Jacob's family at the time of the migration to Egypt, 46:12, and in the permanent tribal arrangements of Israel, Num. 26:19sq. The writer conducts Joseph to Egypt, where he is sold as a slave. There he leaves him for a while until these facts in Judah's family are related, when he resumes the thread of Joseph's narrative precisely where he left off and proceeds as before. It is just the method that the best writers pursue in similar circumstances. So far from suggesting confusion or disarrangement, it argues an orderly well-considered plan.

\* *Beträge*, II., p. 146.

† Page 2, note †; p. 3, note \*; p. 4, note ‡; p. 6, 5. 1).

The chronological objection is equally futile. If Judah's marriage occurred shortly after Joseph was sold, as is expressly stated, there is no reason why all that is recorded in this chapter may not have taken place within the twenty-two years which preceded the migration to Egypt. It implies early marriages on the part of his sons but not incredibly early.

A further objection is thus stated, p. 6: "It is not to be overlooked that according to this chapter, the custom of the Levirate is very old, antedating by centuries the law recorded in Deuteronomy; P would not have been guilty of such an anachronism." Where, it may be asked, is the proof that there is an anachronism? Genesis shows that in several respects the laws of Moses embodied or were based upon patriarchal usages; while, nevertheless, the modifications show that there has been no transference to a primitive period of the customs of a later time. The penalty which Tamar was threatened, was not that of the Mosaic law, in which Dillmann admits a reminiscence of antelegal times. The critics claim that the Deuteronomic law belongs to the reign of Josiah, yet the Levirate was an established institution in the days of the judges, Ruth, 4:10. How much the argument from silence, of which critics make so frequent use, amounts to in this case, may be inferred from the fact that such marriages, though their existence is trebly vouched for, are nowhere alluded to in the other Pentateuchal codes nor in the later history until the times of the New Testament, Matt. 22:14. It is gratifying to note the admission that P would not commit an anachronism. He is not mistaken then, in speaking of circumcision in the family of Abraham as opposed to any critical inferences, V., p. 250, "that its existence as a custom would seem to date from Moses' days," nor in assigning the Levitical law to the wanderings in the wilderness, nor in his detailed description of the sacred tabernacle which cannot be the reflection from the temple of Solomon thrown back upon the Mosaic age.

The suggestion, p. 3, note, that the "general purpose of this chapter is to indicate the origin of the house of David" assumes that the writer adopted a very unusual method of flattering the pride of a royal house. How displeasing it was to national vanity appears from the fact that the Targum converts Judah's wife from the daughter of a Canaanite to that of a merchant and later legends make Tamar a daughter of Melchizedek.

### 3. Chapter 39.

The critical partition is here rested partly on the ground of alleged discrepancies, partly on that of diction. It is said that there are varying representations of the purchaser of Joseph. Was he, 37:36, Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, or was he simply an Egyptian, whose name and official position, if he had any, are unknown? He is nowhere called Potiphar in this chapter except in v. 1, but only Joseph's master, v. 3, his Egyptian master, v. 2,

or the Egyptian, v. 5. And nothing is said, outside of v. 1, of his standing in any special relation to Pharaoh or holding any office under the king; but mention is made of "all that he had in the house and in the field," implying that he was the owner of a landed estate. It is hence inferred that the words "Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, captain of the guard," do not properly belong to v. 1, but were inserted by R to make it correspond with 37:36; and that originally it simply read "an Egyptian," words which would be superfluous, if his name and title had previously been given. But neither does "Potiphar" occur in ch. 40, where the critics admit that he is intended by Joseph's master, v. 7, see also vs. 3,4. Royal body guards are not always composed of native troops, so that it may not have been a matter of course that their captain was an Egyptian. Knobel thinks that the statement is made in contrast with the Hyksos origin of the monarch. Or it may emphasize the fact that Joseph was not only a slave but a slave of a foreigner; the Hebrew servant, vs. 14,17, had an Egyptian master. But no special reason is needed to justify the expression. Goliath "from Gath from the ranks of the Philistines" is further called "the Philistine," 1 Sam. 17:23, and throughout the chapter is always denominated "the Philistine," without repeating his name. That Potiphar was married creates no real difficulty. It is a disputed point whether פֶּרִי is invariably to be taken in the strict sense of eunuch or may sometimes have the general meaning of officer. However this may be, Winer\* refers to Chardin, Niebuhr and Burckhardt in proof of the statement that "even in the modern orient eunuchs have sometimes kept a harem of their own." There is positively no ground, therefore, for assuming an interpolation in v. 1. And the explicit statement of that verse annuls the critical allegation of variant stories respecting the person of Joseph's master.

It is further said that Joseph's master is in 39:20,21 distinguished from the keeper of the prison into which Joseph was put; whereas in 40:3,4,7 they are identical. But the confusion here charged upon the text lies solely in the mind of the interpreters. The narrative is perfectly clear and consistent. The prison was in the house of Joseph's master, 40:7, the captain of the guard, v. 3, who had supreme control over it, v. 4; and this corresponds exactly with the representation, 39:20. Under him there was a subordinate keeper charged with its immediate oversight, 39:21, who was so favorably disposed towards Joseph that he committed all the prisoners into his hands and let him manage everything in the prison. This is neither identical with nor contradictory to the statement, 40:4, that the captain of the guard appointed Joseph to attend upon two prisoners of rank from the royal household. It has been said that he waited upon them simply as Potiphar's servant, and that ch. 40, E, knows nothing of Joseph's imprisonment related by J, ch. 39, and moreover uses the term מִשְׁמָר *ward*, 40:3,4,

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\* *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, Art. *Verschnittene*.

J, so 41:10 instead of *בית הסהר* *prison*, 39:20-23. But this result is only reached by expunging from the text without the slightest warrant every clause which directly declares the opposite, 40:3b,5b,15b; 41:14; cf. 39:20.

Wellhausen parcels the chapter between J and E, giving vs. 1-5,20-23 to the former on account of the repeated occurrence of *יְהוָה*, and vs. 6-19 to the latter because of *אלהים*, v. 9, (though this is the ordinary usage when Gentiles speak or are spoken to), and certain other expressions alleged to be characteristic of E. The result is that Joseph is in E falsely accused of a gross crime, but there is no intimation how the matter issues; and in J his master, who had the greatest confidence in him and was richly blessed for his sake, puts him in prison for no cause whatever. Wellhausen, moreover, finds traces of E in the J sections and of J in the E section. Dillmann admits the indivisible character of the chapter and refers the whole of it to J, but as the two following chapters are given to E, the consequence is that according to J, Joseph is put in prison and no information given how or why he was subsequently released; the next that we hear of him he is made viceroy of Egypt with no explanation of how it came to pass, see p. 10 (8) "How J brings Joseph before Pharaoh is not clear." The expressions commonly attributed to E, which are found in this chapter, are accounted for by Dillmann as insertions by R. This repeated occurrence of traces of one document in the limits of the other, and the allegation that the documents have been in various particulars modified by R, are simply confessions that the text is not what by the critics' hypothesis it ought to be. Words and phrases held to be characteristic of J or E in one place are perversely found in the wrong document in another place. So without revising and correcting their own previous conclusions and adjusting their hypothesis to the phenomena as they find them, the critics insist that the document itself is wrong, and who can there be to blame for it but R?

The following expressions regarded as characteristic of E, nevertheless occur in the J text of this chapter:

<p>Verse 4, <i>אמו</i> as 40:4; Ex. 24:13; 33:11, repeatedly also in P; v. 6, <i>יפה מראה</i>, as 29:17; v. 7, <i>יהי אחר הרברים האלה</i>, as 22:1; 40:1; 48:1; v. 21, <i>חננו בעיני</i>, as Ex. 3:21; 11:3. Varying constructions as <i>הפקיד</i></p>	<p>in vs. 4,5, and of <i>מליוח</i> trans. v. 2, but intrans. vs. 3,23 would be held to indicate different writers if they occurred in distinct sections. The diffuseness in v. 1, vs. 2-6, vs. 21-23 is such as is elsewhere claimed to be a mark of P.</p>
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#### 4. Chapter 40.

This chapter and the two that follow are by the critics referred to E. Dillmann gives the following reasons in the case of ch. 40: "the dreams," but it is arbitrarily assumed that all dreams must belong to E, see VI., p. 171; "vs. 3a,4 presuppose Joseph not in prison as ch. 39, but the slave of the captain of the guard as 37:36; 41:12." Nothing is said or implied at variance with his imprisonment, which is explicitly affirmed, vs. 3b,15b. "I was stolen away," v. 15,

is not inconsistent with his being sold by his brothers; "the connection of ch. 41 with 40," is readily conceded, but involves no discrepancy with or separation from ch. 39. He offers no argument from language but "the avoidance of the verbal suffix, which distinguishes E from J," quietly ignoring the fact that he refused to admit this criterion in ch. 37. אֱלֹהִים v. 8, is spoken to Gentiles; "and it came to pass after these things" cannot be claimed for E, 40:1, after having been given to J, 39:7. That vs. 1,5 have "the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt," while the rest of the chapter has "chief butler," "chief baker" and "Pharaoh," is no good reason for affirming that the former are insertions by R, when v. 1 is indispensable as supplying the reason for v. 2, and the office of the chief butler is simply called "butlership" מִשְׁקֵהָ, v. 21. It can scarcely be thought that such arguments are of any weight in favor of critical division.

Nor is there an anachronism in the phrase "land of the Hebrews," v. 15. "Abram the Hebrew," was the head of a powerful clan, 14:13,14, recognized as such by native tribes of Canaan, 23:6, and his friendship sought by the king of the Philistines, 21:22sq. Isaac's greatness is similarly described, 26:13sq., 28sq. The prince and the people of Shechem were willing to submit to circumcision for the sake of friendly intercourse and trade with Jacob, and Jacob's sons avenged the wrong done their sister by the destruction of the city, ch. 34. The Hebrews had been in Canaan for two centuries and their presence was influential and widely known. There is nothing strange, therefore, in the fact that Potiphar's wife calls Joseph a Hebrew, 39:14,17, or that he could speak of the country whence he came as the land of the Hebrews.

##### 5. Chapter 41.

The reasons alleged by Dillmann for assigning this chapter to E are the significant dreams which are of no more weight than those in ch. 40. Joseph is called "servant to the captain of the guard," v. 12, but he was also a prisoner, v. 14, which is evaded after the usual critical fashion, by erasing from the text the words "and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon" as an insertion from a hypothetical parallel of J; but even then his shaving himself and changing his raiment are an allusion to his prison attire, or why are not the same things mentioned when others are presented before the king? The references to ch. 40 (41:10-13, cf. 40:1sq.; 41:16, cf. 40:8), and unusual words common to both chapters (פָּתָר, פְּתָרוֹן, כֶּן, station, קִצְף) point to the same author, but in no way imply that he was not the author of ch. 39 and 43 as well; אֱלֹהִים in vs. 16,25,32,38,39 is in language addressed to Pharaoh or used by him; vs. 51,52 are the only instances in which יְהוָה could with any propriety be substituted for it, and even there אֱלֹהִים is equally appropriate, for the reference is to God's providential blessings, such as men in general may share rather than to specific favor granted to one of the chosen race; בְּלִעְרֵי, vs. 16,44, but once beside in Genesis,

14:24, referred by Dillmann to E, but by the majority of critics to an independent source, and twice more in the Hex., Num. 5:20; Josh. 22:19, P. The arguments for considering this chapter a part of the document E are accordingly lame and impotent enough.

We are further informed that this chapter is not a unit as it stands. It is essential for the critics to establish, if possible, the existence of a parallel narrative by J, which may have filled the gap in that document between Joseph's imprisonment and his elevation. Accordingly stress is laid upon some slight verbal changes in repeating Pharaoh's dreams, especially the words added to the description of the lean kine, v. 19, "such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness," and v. 21, "when they had eaten up the fat kine, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still illfavored as at the beginning." And a vigorous search is made for so-called doublets. Wherever the writer does not content himself with a bald and meagre statement of what he is recording, but feels impelled to enlarge and dwell upon it in order to give his thought more adequate expression, the amplifications or repetitions which he employs are seized upon as though they were extraneous additions imported into E's original narrative by R from an imaginary parallel account by J, just as a like fulness of expression in other passages is at the pleasure of the critics declared to be indicative of the verbose and repetitious style of P.

The dreams vs. 2-7 are repeated, vs. 18-24 in almost identical terms, only in a very few instances equivalent expressions are employed, viz.: חָאָר v. 18sq. for מְרֹאָה v. 2sq. (but see 29:17 E, 39:6 J); רָק v. 19 for דָּק v. 3; מְלֵא v. 22 for בְּרִיאָה v. 5 (but see v. 7). The alleged doublets are, v. 31, parallel to v. 30b; v. 34 יַעֲשֶׂה to יִפְקֹד; 35b to 35a; vs. 41,43b,44 to v. 40 (Joseph's rule is stated four times, so that repetition cannot be escaped by parcelling it between E and J); v. 49 to v. 48; vs. 55,56a to 54b (the universality of the famine repeated three times including 57b). While it is claimed

that these indicate two narrators, Dillmann admits that there are no criteria by which to distinguish which is E and which J. The further occurrence of words in this chapter which according to critical rules should belong to P, e. g., חָרָטָם vs. 3,24 in the Pentateuch besides only Ex. 7:11,22; 8:3,14,15; 9:11, all P; פָּקְדוֹן in O. T. besides only Lev. 5:21,23, P; קָמַץ v. 47 in O. T. besides only Lev. 2:2; 5:12; 6:8, and the corresponding verb only Lev. 2:2; 5:12; Num. 5:26, all P, leads one to doubt the value of criteria in other cases which the critics can thus disregard at pleasure.

On the whole, then, the critical partition of chs. 37-41 rests upon alleged inconsistencies in the narrative which plainly do not exist as the text now stands, but which the critics themselves create by arbitrary erasures and forced interpretations. The literary proof offered of the existence of different documents is of the scantiest kind. There are no indications of varying diction of any account. And the attempt to bridge the chasms in the documents by means of a supposed parallel narrative, from which snatches have been preserved by R, attributes an unaccountable procedure to him, and falls to pieces at once upon examination.

There are three staple arguments, by which the critics attempt to show that there was in the sources, from which R is conjectured to have drawn, a second

narrative parallel to that in the existing text. Each of them is built upon a state of facts antagonistic to the hypothesis, which they ingeniously seek to wrest in its favor by assuming the truth of the very thing to be proved.

1. Facts, which are essential to the narrative, could not, it is said, have failed to appear in either document; it must be presumed, therefore, that each narrator recorded them.

But the perpetual recurrence of such serious gaps in the so-called documents, which the critics are by every device laboring to construct, tends rather to show that no such documents ever really had any separate existence. That these gaps are due to omissions by R is pure assumption with no foundation but the unproved hypothesis which it is adduced to support; an assumption, moreover, at variance with the conduct repeatedly attributed to R in other places, where to relieve other complications of the hypothesis he is supposed to have scrupulously preserved unimportant details from one of his sources, even though they were superfluous repetitions of what had already been extracted from another.

2. When words and phrases, which the critics regard as characteristic of one document, are found, as they frequently are, in sections which they assign to the other, it is claimed that R has mixed the texts of the different documents.

But the obvious and natural conclusion from the fact referred to is, that what are affirmed to be characteristic words of different documents, are freely used by the same writer. The allegation that R had anything to do with the matter, is an assumption which has no other basis than the hypothesis which it is brought to support. It is plain that any conceit whatever could be carried through successfully, if every deviation from its requirements was sufficiently explained by referring it to R.

3. Whenever a thought is repeated or dwelt upon for the sake of giving it more emphatic expression, the critics scent a doublet, affirming that R has appended to the statement in one document the corresponding statement contained in the other.

But here again the agency of R is pure assumption based on the hypothesis in whose interest it is alleged. That a writer should use more amplitude and fulness in describing matters of special moment is quite intelligible. But why a compiler like R should encumber the narrative by reduplicating what he has already drawn from one source by the equivalent language of another, or why, if this is his method in the instances adduced, he does not consistently pursue it in others, it does not appear.

What are so confidently paraded as traces or indications of some missing portion of a critical document are accordingly rather to be esteemed indications that the documents of the critics are a chimera.

## 1. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) מָלָה תְּלִדוֹת see V., p. 152.  
The following words not in the list VI., p. 2, might with propriety have been urged as belonging to P by critical rules.  
דָּבָר, 87:2, only besides in Hex., Num. 13:32; 14:36, 37 P.  
דָּבָר, with acc. pers., 87:4, only besides Num. 26:3 P.

שָׁעִיר עֲזִים, 37:31, only besides in Hex. in the ritual law, where it occurs repeatedly, Lev. 4:23; 9:3; 16:5; 23:9; Num. chs. 7, 15, 23, 29; nowhere else in O. T., except Ezek. 43:22; 45:23, where it is borrowed from the Pentateuch.

41:50 has the same fulness of expression which in 16:15; 21:3 is said to be a mark of P.

## 2. LANGUAGE OF J.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) נֶשָׂא עֵינַיִם וְגו' explained above under Section 5, Language of J. (2) בָּשָׂר (=relative) Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (3) וְתוֹרָה V., p. 155, (35). (4) יֹסֵף Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (5) רָע בְּעֵינַיִ Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (6) לְבַלְתִּי V., p. 155. (7) הִכָּה Sect. 4, Lang. of J. (8) נָן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) יְהוּדָה see Preliminary Remarks, No. 3. (10) גָּדִי Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (11) צִעִיף Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (12) אִיָּה V., p. 155. (13) כִּי-עַל-כֵּן always referred to J. (14) פָּן V., p. 155. (15) מְנַכִּי repeatedly in both J and E and once in P, V., p. 174, 6:17. (16) פָּרִץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (17) מְצִיחַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (18) מְצָא V., p. 175, 6:5-8. (19) בְּגִלָּל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (20) חֲרָה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (21) חֲשַׁב 15:6; 38:15 J; 31:15; 50:20; Num. 23:9 E; Lev. 7:13; 17:4; 26:27, 31, 50, 52; 27:18, 23; Num. 18:27, 30 P, besides occurring frequently in P in a derived sense. (22) חֲשַׁךְ 39:9 J; 20:6; 22:12 E; 22:16 R; all in Hex. (23) יָפוּה-מְרֹאֵה 12:11; 39:6 J; 29:17; 41:2, 4 E; all in Hex. (24) תַּפַּשׁ 4:21 J; 39:12; Josh. 8:8, 23 J; Num. 5:13; 31:27 P; all in Hex. except Deuteronomy.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) טָרַף 37:33*bts*; 44:23*bts*; 49:27 J; Ex. 22:12 E. Derivatives טָרַף adj., Gen. 8:11 J; טָרַף (poetic) Gen. 49:9 J; Num. 23:24 E; טָרַפָּה

Gen. 31:39; Ex. 22:12, 30 E; Lev. 7:24; 17:15; 22:8 P.

(2) נָכַר HI. *recognize*, 37:32, 33; 38:25, 26 J; 27:23; 31:32; Deut. 33:9 E; 42:7, 8*bts*, the critics give v. 7 to J, v. 8 to E.

## RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

Words that a writer scarcely ever uses afford of course no indication of his ordinary style.

(1) נָטָה עַד 88:1 this construction does not occur again in O. T.

(2) פָּתַח עֵינַיִם 88:14; the "entrance to Enaim" does not chance to be spoken of elsewhere, but פָּתַח is of repeated occurrence in J, E and P; it is used precisely as here, Josh. 20:4 P.

(3) הִתְעַלֶּף 88:14; nowhere else in O. T. in this sense.

(4) עֲרִבּוֹן 88:17, 18, 20; nowhere else in O. T.

(5) הִזְדַּחַר 39:20, 21, 22, 23 J; 40:3, 5 claimed to be insertions from J in an E context; nowhere else in O. T.

(6) הִתְנַכַּל 37:13; nowhere else in Hex.; the Pr<sup>el</sup> occurs Num. 25:18 P.

(7) אֶרְחָה 37:25; nowhere else in Hex.

(8) וְנֹנִים 88:24; nowhere else in Hex.

(9) בָּצַע 37:26 J; Ex. 18:21 E; all in Hex.

(10) קָרְשָׁה 28:21*bts*, 22; all in Hex. except Deut. 23:18.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF E.\*

## OLD WORDS.

How utterly the critics have failed to make out a separate diction for E appears from the fact that every one of these words with a solitary exception occurs likewise in J or P; and

the great majority of them have been previously adduced as characteristic of J.

(1) חֲלוּם is by rule referred to E, yet it occurs Num. 12:6 J (according to Dillmann) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (2) נָן see Lang. of J (immedi-

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, Vol. VI., No. 1, and the following references are to explanations already made.

ately preceding) No. 8. (3) נַחֲשִׁי Lang. of J, No. 15. (4) טָרַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (5) שָׁלַח יד 87:19 E; 24:35 J; all in O. T. (6) שָׁלַח יד Preliminary Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (7) מַלְהוּיִם see Preliminary Remarks, No. 3. (8) כְּרוּעַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (9) שִׁים V., p. 154, Lang. of J; שִׁית 41:38; 46:4 E; 8:15; 4:25; 80:40; 48:14,17, J, all in Genesis; besides other passages it is found in Ex. 7:23, which Dillmann refers to E, Jülicher to J, and Wellhausen to P. (10) בְּלַעֲרִי 41:16, 44 E; 14:24 E (Dillmann), but other critics an independent source; Num. 5:20; Josh. 22:19 P. (11) בְּתוּחָה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) רָק Sect. 3, Lang. of J, 6:5-8. (13) כְּחוּל הַיָּם 41:49 E section, though Kautzsch and others out this clause and give it to J; 22:17 E or J; 32:18 J; Josh. 11:4 D; all in Hex. (14) חוּרַל 23:5; 41:49 E; 11:8; 18:11; Ex. 9:29,33,34; 14:12 J; Num. 9:18 P. (15) תַּעֲרָה 20:18; 21:14; 37:15; Ex. 23:4, Sect. 6, Lang. of E. Absolutely the only one in this entire number, which happens not to be found in any but an E section. (16) אִיפֹה 37:16 E, nowhere else so spelled in Hex., as אִיפֹא see Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (17) יַפֹּת כְּרֹאֵהוּ (17) 29:17; 41:2,4 E; 12:11; 39:16 J. (18) פַּעַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J; פַּעַמִּים in Hex. only 27:36; 48:10 J; Num. 20:11 E, where Dillmann suspects that it was inserted by R.

NEW WORDS.

- (1) נִקֵּשׁ 31:39; 37:15,16; Ex. 10:11; 33:7 E; 43:9,30; Ex. 2:15; 4:24 J; Ex. 4:19 J (Dillmann), E (Wellhausen); Josh. 2:22 JE; Josh. 22:23 R; Lev. 19:31; Num. 16:10; 35:23 P.
- (2) מְרוּחֹק 22:4; 37:18; Ex. 2:4; 20:21; 24:1 E; Ex. 20:18 J (Dillmann).
- (3) הַדְּחִיל 31:9,16; 37:22; Ex. 3:3; 5:23; 18:4,6, 9,10b; Josh. 9:26; 24:10 E; 32:12; 37:21; Ex. 2:19; 12:27 J; Josh. 2:13 JE; Ex. 6:6; Num. 35:25; Josh. 22:31 P.

- (4) כָּאֵן Ex. 22:16b; Num. 20:21; 22:18,14 E; Gen. 37:35; 39:8; 48:19; Ex. 4:23; 7:14; 10:3; 16:28 J; adjective, Ex. 7:27; 9:2; 10:4 J.
- (5) שָׁאֵל 37:35; 42:38; 44:29,31; Num. 16:30, 38 J.
- (6) קָרִים 41:6,23,27 E; Ex. 10:18b; 14:21 J.
- (7) עֵמֶל 41:51 E; Num. 23:21 E (Dillmann), J (Wellhausen).
- (8) שֹׁכֵר trade in grain, 41:56,57; 48:2,3,5,10 E; 42:6,7; 48:2,4,20,22; 44:25; 47:14 J.
- (9) כֹּחֵן 41:32; Ex. 8:22; 19:11,15 E; Ex. 34:2; Josh. 8:4 J.
- (10) אֶשְׁכַּל 40:10; Num. 18:23,24 E; Deut. 32:32 J.

RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

- (1) פִּתְרוּן 40:5,8,12,18; 41:11 E; all in O. T.
- (2) שֹׁחַט 40:11 E; all in O. T.
- (3) צִנְמוֹת 41:23 E; all in O. T.
- (4) חֲמֹשׁ 41:34 E; all in O. T.
- (5) אֶבְרַךְ 41:43 E; all in O. T.
- (6) קָמַץ 41:47 E; so Fuerst, but according to Gesen. קָמַץ, Lev. 2:2; 5:12; 6:8 P, from קָמַץ, Lev. 2:2; 5:12; Num. 5:26 P.
- (7) אֵלִים btnd 37:7 E; אֵלִים 37:7 (four times) all in Hex.
- (8) אֲחוּז 41:2,18 E; all in Hex.
- (9) זַעֲרָה 40:6 E; all in Hex.
- (10) שָׁרִיג 40:10,12; all in Hex.
- (11) post 40:13; 41:13 E; with slightly modified sense applied to the base or support of the laver, Ex. 30:18 and repeatedly in P.
- (12) כְּרִיא 41:2,4,5,7,18,20 E; all in Hex.
- (13) שָׁרַף 41:6,23,27 E; all in Hex.
- (14) פָּעַם (with רוּחַ) 41:8 E; all in Hex.
- (15) רוּץ HI. 41:14 E; all in Hex.
- (16) שָׁנָה (as verb) 41:32 E; all in Hex.
- (17) נָשָׂה 41:51 E; all in Hex.
- (18) רָבַד 41:42 E; all in Hex.

SECTION XI. GENESIS 42:1-46:34.

1. Chapter 42-44.

The critics tell us that ch. 42, which records the first journey of Jacob's sons to Egypt is by E, and chs. 43, 44, their second journey is by J. Yet the second journey implies the first and is filled throughout with numerous and explicit allusions to it. It was, 43:2, after they had eaten up the corn already brought

that their father urged them to go again. All then, turns upon Joseph's having required them to bring Benjamin, vs. 3-11. Repeated reference is made to the money returned in their sacks, vs. 12,15,18-23; 44:8, and to Simeon's detention, vs. 14,23. Jacob's sense of bereavement, v. 14, corresponds with previous statements, 42:36; 37:34,35. Joseph speaks of their father and youngest brother, of whom they had previously told him, vs. 27-29. They bow before him in fulfilment of his dreams, vs. 26,28. Joseph orders their money to be replaced in their sacks, 44:1, as before. And Judah's touching address to Joseph, 44:18-34, recites anew the circumstances of their former visit together with their father's grief at the loss of Joseph. It is difficult to see how two parts of the same narrative could be more closely bound together.

Nevertheless it is maintained that all these allusions to what took place in the former journey are not to the record given of it in ch. 42, but to a quite different narrative; that a careful consideration of chs. 43, 44 will show that they are not the sequel of ch. 42, but of a parallel account by J, which no longer exists indeed, inasmuch as R did not think fit to preserve it, but which can be substantially reconstructed from the hints and intimations in these chapters themselves, and must have varied from that of E in several particulars. R is here as always the scape goat on whose head these incongruities are laid, though no very intelligible reason can be given why he should have constructed this inimitable history in such a disjointed manner. And it is likewise strange that the discrepancies between the two narratives so strenuously urged by Wellhausen and Dillmann seem to have escaped the usually observant eye of Hupfeld, who makes no mention of them. As Ilgen, De Wette and Gramberg had raised the same difficulties before, Hupfeld's silence can only mean that he did not deem them worth repeating. Knobel, though ready enough to undertake a critical division elsewhere, insists upon the unity of chs. 42-45, and maintains that the charge of inconsistencies is unfounded. The same judgment, one would think, must be formed by any candid person. The alleged discrepancies are the following:

1. In J, 43:3, it is Judah, whereas in E, 42:37, it is Reuben, who becomes surety for Benjamin's safe return.

But these do not exclude each other. Why should not more than one of Jacob's sons have sought to influence him in a case of such extreme importance to them all? If Reuben had pleaded without effect, why should not Judah renew the importunity, as the necessity became more urgent? It is here precisely as with the separate proposals of Reuben and Judah, 37:21,26, which, as we have seen, the critics likewise seek, without reason, to array against each other. Reuben's allusion, 42:23, to his interference in that instance implies that his remonstrance was not heeded, and that his brothers were responsible for Joseph's death, which he sought to prevent. As the critics represent the matter this was not the case. At Reuben's instance they put Joseph in a pit instead of shedding his

blood. Now if, as the critics will have it, Midianite merchants found him there and carried him off in the absence of the brothers, the latter had no more to do with his disappearance than Reuben had. Reuben's unresisted charge that the rest were guilty of Joseph's death, in which he was not himself implicated, finds no explanation upon the critics' version of the story. It is only when the sun-dered parts of the narrative are brought together, and it is allowed to stand in its complete and proper form, that Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites at the sugges-tion of Judah, while Reuben supposed him to be still in the pit, that his words have any meaning. No difficulty is created by Reuben's speaking of his blood as required. The brothers imagined him to be no longer living. Judah, who coun-selled the sale, speaks of him as dead, 44:20. By selling him into bondage, they had as they thought procured his death.

It is further claimed that

2. J knows nothing of Simeon's detention related by E, 42:19,24. Judah nowhere alluded to it in arguing with his father, 43:3-10, when he might have urged the prospect of releasing Simeon as an additional reason for their speedy return; nor does he refer to it in his address to Joseph, 44:18-34.

But the supreme interest on both these occasions centered about Benjamin. Would his father consent to let him go? Would Joseph allow him to return to his father? These were the questions quite apart from the case of Simeon, so that in dealing with them there was no occasion to allude to him. But Simeon is directly spoken of twice in ch. 43. When Jacob is starting them on their return he prays, v. 14, "God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he release unto you *your other brother* and Benjamin." And, v. 23, when they reach the house of Joseph, the steward "brought Simeon out unto them." These explicit allusions to Simeon's imprisonment are evaded by declaring them to be interpolations from E. The argument for suppressing them may be fairly stated thus: because Simeon is not referred to where there is no occasion for speaking of him, therefore the mention which is made of him in the proper place cannot be an integral part of the text. In other words, whatever the critics desire to eliminate from a passage, is eliminated without further ceremony by declaring it spurious. If it does not accord with their theory, that is enough; no other proof is necessary.

The further allegation that 42:38 is not the direct reply to v. 37, because Simeon is not spoken of in it, is futile on its face; for as Reuben makes no allu-sion to him in his proposal, there is no reason why Jacob should do so in his answer. Nevertheless the critics tell us that E's narrative is abruptly broken off at 42:37 and left incomplete. No response is made to Reuben at all; and we have no means of knowing whether Jacob acceded to his request, or on what terms. Instead of this R introduces an irrelevant verse (v. 38) from J, which in its original connection was a reply to something quite distinct from the words by

which it is here preceded. All this confusion (where in reality no confusion exists) is created by the critical necessity of assigning v. 38 to J since the words "if mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave" are identical with 44:29,31 and must obviously be from the same writer.

3. "In ch. 42 Joseph will by detaining Simeon, compel the brothers at all events to come back again with or without Benjamin; in ch. 43sq., on the contrary, he forbids them to come back, if Benjamin is not with them. In ch. 42 they are treated as spies, at first they are all put in prison together and then only set free on bail to bring Benjamin, and thus confirm the truth of their declarations; but in ch. 43sq., they do not go back to Egypt from the moral obligation of clearing themselves and releasing Simeon, but wait till the corn is all gone and the famine constrains them. The charge that they were spies was not brought against the brothers at all according to 43:5-7; 44:18sqq.; it was not this which induced them, as in ch. 42, to explain to Joseph, who and whence they really were, and thus involuntarily to make mention of Benjamin, but Joseph directly asked them, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? and then commanded them not to come into his presence again without him."\*

All this is only an attempt to create a conflict where there is none. One part of a transaction is set in opposition to another equally belonging to it. One motive is arrayed against another, as though they were incompatible, when both were alike operative. When Joseph told his brothers that they must verify their words by Benjamin's coming or be considered spies, 42:15,16,20,34, he in effect told them that they should not see his face again unless Benjamin was with them. They delay their return until the corn was all used up, because nothing less than imminent starvation will induce Jacob, who has already lost two sons, to risk the loss of his darling. That Joseph directly interrogated them about their father and brother is not expressly said in ch. 42; but as the entire interview is not narrated, there is nothing to forbid it. The critics do not themselves insist on the absolute conformity of related passages unless they have some end to answer by it. The words of Reuben as reported 42:22 are not identical with those ascribed to him 37:22; and nothing is said in ch. 37 of Joseph's beseeching his brothers in the anguish of his soul, as 42:21. Jacob's sons "in rehearsing their experience to their father. . . omit his first proposition to keep all of them but one and their three days' imprisonment, and add that if they prove true, he would offer them the trade of Egypt."† Judah, in relating the words of his father, 44:27-29, does not limit himself to language which, according to 43:2sqq., he uttered on the occasion referred to. In these instances the critics find no discrepancies within the limits of the same document but count it sufficient that the general sense is pre-

\* Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hexateuchs*, p. 56.

† VI., p. 15.

served. If they would but interpret with equal candor elsewhere their imaginary difficulties would all melt away.

4. A discrepancy is alleged regarding the money found in the sacks. According to 48:21 J, the discovery was made at the lodging on their way home, but according to 42:35 E, after their arrival home and in the presence of their father.

It is to be observed, however, that these are not variant statements of the historian. In the former passage he is repeating what the brothers said to Joseph's steward, which makes a material difference. The historian's own account of the matter clears up the difficulty entirely. One of the brothers, on opening his sack at the lodging, 42:27sq., found his money and reported the fact to the rest, whereat they were greatly alarmed. But it was not until they emptied their sacks after reaching home, v. 35, that they and their father ascertained to their alarm and to his that each of them had brought his money back. In making their apology subsequently to Joseph's steward, it was of no consequence for them to relate in detail just when and where these successive discoveries were made. The one important fact was that they all found their money in their sacks, and they link this with the first discovery, which so excited them at the lodging. Their statement, though not minutely accurate, was yet for their purpose substantially true.

The critics, however, refuse to accept this obvious explanation. They claim that 42:27,28 does not belong to E's narrative, but has been inserted by R from an assumed parallel account by J. If these verses are excluded from E's text, he makes no mention of any discovery at the lodging. J alone speaks of money being found there; according to E, they first find their money all together at home. It is further alleged, 42:27,28 has been altered by R. In its original form as a part of J's text, it must have corresponded with 48:21, and have stated that not one of the brothers merely but all of them found their money in their sacks at the lodging. If one opened his sack to give his ass provender, must not the rest have done the same and made the same discovery? and especially as they were so agitated by the fact that one had found his money in his sack, would not the rest have made instant search in theirs? But all this conjectural reasoning does not change the fact. The statement of the history is that one found his money at the lodging and all found theirs when they reached home. Whether both these items belong to the same document or not, there is no conflict between them. And the critics can scarcely be accorded the privilege of changing the text *ad libitum* for the sake of creating a discrepancy where there is none and thus manufacturing an argument for variant narratives and separate documents.

An argument is brought from the language of these verses to confirm these critical assertions; but it is altogether inconclusive.

According to Dillmann **הַאֲחֻזִּים** 42:27 means *the first* in order, implying that the rest subsequently did the same; it rather denotes *the one* who performed the action referred to, definitely conceived as 2 Kgs. 6:3,5. It is claimed that the language of these verses is that of J, as shown by **מִסְפּוֹא**, **מְלוֹן**, **אֲמַתְחַת**. **מִסְפּוֹא** *fodder* and **מְלוֹן** *lodging-place* are the proper words to express these ideas and cannot be regarded as characterizing any particular writer. The former is used four times in the Hex., twice in this narrative, 42:27; 43:24, and twice in the story of Abnanam's servant, 24:25,32. The latter also occurs twice in this narrative, 42:27; 43:21, and in two passages besides in the Hex., Ex. 4:24; Josh. 4:3,8. More stress is laid on **אֲמַתְחַת** *sack*, a word peculiar to this narrative, which is claimed for J, while E's word for the same is **שֶׁק**. The latter properly denotes the coarse material from which sacks and the dress of mourners

were made, and is then applied to anything made of this material. **אֲמַתְחַת** from **מַתַּח** to *expand* is the specific term for a bag or sack. The grain sacks are first mentioned 42:25, where the general term **כֵּלִי** *vessel* is used together with **שֶׁק**; then in vs. 27,28 **שֶׁק** together with **אֲמַתְחַת**; in v. 35 **שֶׁק** alone, and thenceforward **אֲמַתְחַת** as the proper and specific term is steadfastly adhered to in the rest of the narrative throughout chs. 43 and 44. That this affords no argument for sundering vs. 27,28 from their present connection and assigning them to another writer is obvious, since both **שֶׁק** and **אֲמַתְחַת** occur there together; moreover **אֱלֹהִים** in the last clause of v. 28 forbids it being assigned to J. Dillmann evades these difficulties by assuming that these verses have been manipulated by R, who inserted **שֶׁק** and transposed the unwelcome clause from its original position after v. 35. What cannot a critic prove with the help of R?

Further proof that ch. 42 is from E and chs. 43, 44 from J is sought from the language of these chapters, but with no great success.

E calls Benjamin **יְלִד** 42:22, but J **נַעַר** 43:8; 44:22-34. J, however, likewise calls him **יְלִד** 44:20, and uses the same word repeatedly elsewhere, e. g., 32:23; 33:1-14 (9 times), while E uses **נַעַר** with equal frequency, 14:24; 21:12-20 (6 times), ch. 22 (5 times), etc., etc.

E says **יַעֲקֹב** 42:1,4,29,36, but J **יִשְׂרָאֵל** 43:6,8, 11. Dillmann undertakes to carry consistently through the rule laid down by Wellhausen,\* but which through the fault of E he admits has not been strictly observed,† viz., that after 35:10 J calls the patriarch Israel, E calls him Jacob, but his sons the sons of Israel, while P continues to speak of Jacob and the sons of Jacob. Whence results this curious circumstance; P 35:10 and E 32:29 (so Dill.) record the change of name to Israel but never use it; J alone makes use of it and he does not record the change at all. There is a singular inconsistency likewise in the conduct of R. P alone mentions the change in the names of Abraham and Sarah, 17:5,15, but R is so concerned to have the documents uniform in this respect

that from this point onward he alters these names in J and E to correspond with P; why does he not here in like manner bring P and E into correspondence with J? And it is only by palpable forcing that Dillmann succeeds in uniformly assigning **יִשְׂרָאֵל** to J; see e. g. 45:27,28; 46:1,2; 47:27; 48:2,3,11,21. Wellhausen, Kautzsch and other critics abandon the attempt as hopeless. At this period of transition when the family is branching out into the nation these two names seem to be used interchangeably, the distinction lying purely in the writer's point of view. The patriarch is called by his personal name Jacob when he is regarded strictly as an individual; he is called Israel when he is regarded as the head and representative of the chosen race, cf. 46:8.

E says **שֶׁק**, J **אֲמַתְחַת** for *sack*; explained above.

E says **הָאִישׁ הָאֲדָנִי הָאֲרִיץ** 42:30,33; J simply **הָאִישׁ** 43:3,5,6,7,13,14; 44:26. The full phrase "the man, the lord of the land" was necessary at first in order to indicate the person in-

\* *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 59.

† Page 60.

tended; its constant repetition afterwards would be cumbrous. In like manner "the man who was over Joseph's house," 43:16,19 is simply called "the man," v. 17. The plur. const. אֲרָנִי is used in a singular sense but once besides in the Pent., 39:20, where it is attributed to J.

E has כֹּשֶׁמֶר 42:17,19 as 40:3,4,7; 41:10, while J has בֵּית הַסֹּהֵר 39:20-33; but the latter also occurs in an E context 40:3,5, only the clause containing it is cut out and assigned to J because of this very phrase.

E has the prolonged form of the fem. plur. suf. כְּלֵנֶה 42:36, as 21:29; 31:6; 41:21; but J has the same יְהִמְנֶה for יִחְמֵן 30:41.

צָרָה 42:25 E as 45:21; Josh. 9:11; but so J 27:8; Ex. 12:39; all in Hex. except Josh. 1:11 D.

צָרָה 42:21*bis* E; but so J Deut. 31:17,21; all in Hex.

זָכַר 42:9 E as 40:14*bis*,23; 41:9; Ex. 20:8(?), 24; 28:18; but so J Ex. 18:3; 32:18; Lev. 26:42 (three times), 45(?); Num. 11:5; 15:39,40, and P 8:1; 9:15,16; 19:29; 30:23; Ex. 2:24; 6:5; Num. 5:15(?); 10:9(?); all in Pent. except Deut.

אָכַל is claimed for J, 43:2,4,20,22; 44:1,25 in distinction from אָכַל E 41:35,49; 42:3,25; 45:23; but the former occurs in E 41:35*bis*,36,48*bis*; 42:7,10; 47:24 unless the clauses containing it are arbitrarily severed from their context.

יָרַד and הוֹרִיד are said to be used by J of going to Egypt 37:25; 39:1; 43:11,15,20,22; 44:21,23,24, but הֵבִיא by E 37:28; but יָרַד is so used in E 42:2,3 and בָּא in J 42:5; cf. 43:1.

The divine names give no help to the critics in these chapters. אֱלֹהִים occurs once in E 42:18, but three times in J 42:28; 43:29; 44:16 and אֱלֹהֵי once in a J context 43:14, R is in-

voked to relieve the difficulty in 42:28 and 43:14; while in 43:29; 44:16 the critical principle is abandoned, which traces the occurrence of אֱלֹהִים to the particular document in which it is found, and it is confessed that its employment is due to the distinctive usage of the word itself. אֱלֹהִים is used because Joseph is addressed, who is acting the part of an Egyptian governor. This of course accounts equally for 42:18, where Joseph is the speaker. In 42:28 the implied contrast is between divine and human agency, cf. 4:25. In 43:14 the special appeal is to God's omnipotence.

The attempt to establish a parallel narrative to ch. 42 for J and to chs. 43,44 for E rests on very slender grounds. Snatches of the former are suspected in 42:2a,4b,6,7,10,27sq.,38, and of the latter in 43:14,23b. 42:2a is alleged to be superfluous beside 1a, which it is not; 4b is given to J because of אָסוֹן and קָרָא, though these are found as well in E; v. 6 because of שְׁלִיט which occurs nowhere else in the Hex., and notwithstanding the plain allusion to Joseph's dreams in the last clause; "he knew them but made himself strange to them" in v. 7 because of the repetition in v. 8, which, however, is for the sake of adding a contrasted thought, and the removal of this clause leaves the following words, "spake roughly unto them," unexplained, so that Dillmann finds it necessary to transpose them after 9a; v. 10 because of אָכַל, though this is equally found in E; vs. 27sq.,38 for reasons already sufficiently discussed; 43:14,23b are cut out of their connection and given to E, because they flatly contradict the critical allegation that J knows nothing of Simeon's imprisonment and that he never says *El Shaddai*.

## 2. Chapter 45.

This chapter is mainly assigned to E on the ground of alleged discrepancies with what precedes and follows. How, it is said, could Joseph ask, v. 3, whether his father was yet living after his own previous inquiry, 43:27,28, and Judah's speech, 44:18-34, as reported by J? The suggestion only shows how utterly this cold and captious criticism is out of sympathy with the writer and with the whole situation. Joseph's heart is bursting with long suppressed emotion. He had asked about the old man of whom they spake. He can maintain this distance

and reserve no longer. With the disclosure "I am Joseph," his first utterance follows the bent of his affections, "How is my father?"

Again it is objected that Pharaoh had bidden Joseph bring his father with his household to Egypt, promising him the good of the land, 45:17,18; yet, 47:1, Joseph announces their coming to Pharaoh, as though he had never heard of it before; they petition, v. 4, to be allowed to dwell in Goshen, and Pharaoh grants it, v. 6, without any allusion to his previous invitation and promise.

But there is no implication in this last act that the first had not preceded it. All proceeds quite naturally in the narrative. At the first intimation of the presence of Joseph's brethren Pharaoh asks them to Egypt to share the good of the land, assigning them no residence, and only offering subsistence in this time of scarcity. Upon their actual arrival Joseph notifies Pharaoh of the fact and presents his brethren to him with the request that they may dwell in Goshen as best suited to their occupation. And when this is granted he presents his aged father to the king. All is as consistent and natural as possible.

While the grounds of division are thus flimsy, there are various passages in the chapter which are clearly at variance with the hypothesis of the critics, since what they allege to be criteria of distinct documents whether in language or in the contents of the narrative are here inseparably blended. Their only resource here as elsewhere is to interpret these damaging clauses as insertions by R, which they accordingly cut out of their proper connection and assign to J as though they were scraps taken from a supposed parallel narrative of his.

Verse 1a is given to J because of **התאפק**, only besides in Hex. 48:31 J, but 1b closely connected with it to E because of **התוודע** only besides in O. T. Num. 12:6 E.

Verse 2 is declared superfluous in its connection beside v. 16. But it is not. The action progresses regularly. Joseph's weeping was heard by those outside, v. 2, but the occasion of it became known subsequently, v. 16.

Verse 4b, the sale of Joseph into Egypt is in the wrong document; of course exclusion is necessary.

Verse 5 is a singular medley; no two successive clauses can be assigned to the same document. The first clause **תעצבו** J as 6:6; 84:7; the second, **בעיניכם** only besides in O. T. 81:35 E; the third, sale of Joseph J; the fourth, **אלהים** E.

Verse 7a repeats 5b, but **אלהים** occurs in both, compelling the critics to give both to E and so confess that repetition is not proof

of a doublet, or else, as Kautzsch proposes, to change one **יחודה** to **אלהים** and throw the blame on R.

Verse 10, Joseph's naming Goshen as their place of abode is implied in 46:28 J, where Jacob goes directly thither. It is hence severed from its connection and given to J in whole or in part, while its minute enumeration of particulars is such as is elsewhere held to characterize P in distinction from both J and E.

Verse 18 is assigned to J because of **הווריד** as 89:1, and because it repeats v. 9; so v. 14 because of **נפל על צוארי** as 38:4; 46:29, while v. 15, a part of the same scene is given to E. Wellhausen by comparison with 38:4 tries to establish a diversity between J and E in the construction of **נשק**, a conclusion which Dillmann thinks "weak in its feet."

Verse 28 is the response to v. 27, but one verse has "Jacob" and must be assigned to E, while the other has "Israel" and is given to J.

It is apparent here as in many other cases that the assignment of verses and clauses is simply the enforcement *volens volens* of an arbitrary determination of the critics. No one would dream of sundering these mutually unrelated scraps from the rest of the chapter, with which they are closely connected, but for the application of alleged criteria which the critics have devised in other places in framing their hypothesis. These are carried rigidly through at whatever disturbance of the connection or havoc of the sense, because to abandon them would be to give up the hypothesis. The very least that can be said is that this mincing work, to which the critics find themselves compelled to resort to so great an extent in Genesis and increasingly so in the books that follow, lends no support to the hypothesis, but is simply a dead weight upon it. The hypothesis is plainly not an outgrowth of this and similar chapters, but is obtruded upon them, and the only question is how much lumber of this sort it can carry without signally breaking down.

Elohim occurs four times in this chapter, vs. 5,7,8,9, in the address of Joseph to his brothers. As he is no longer acting the part of an Egyptian, he might have spoken of Yahweh as consulting for the welfare of the chosen race. But Elohim is equally appropriate, since the prominent thought here and throughout the history of Joseph is that it is God not man who guided the course of events, v. 8; 50:20.

### 3. Chapter 46.

Verses 1-5 are assigned to E except 1a which is given to J because of "Israel" and "took his journey" יָסַח. This affords an opportunity for creating a discrepancy. Jacob starts in E, v. 5, from Beersheba, in J from some other place, presumably Hebron, 37:14, and takes Beersheba on his way. It scarcely need be stated that the discrepancy is purely the result of the critical partition, and has no existence in the text itself. In v. 2 "Elohim" and "visions of the night," E,\* conflict with "Israel" a mark of J. The difficulty is adjusted by erasing the unwelcome name and tracing its insertion to R.

Verses 6,7 are attributed to P for reasons already considered, VI, p. 191. P's last generally acknowledged statement† is, 37:1, that, in contrast to Esau's removal to Mt. Seir, 36:6-8, Jacob dwelt in the land of Canaan. And yet here follows without a word of explanation the removal of Jacob and his family to Egypt; and it comes out in subsequent incidental allusions that Joseph was already settled there and married into a priestly family, 46:20,27, that he was high in favor with Pharaoh, and it was he, who gave his father and his brethren a possession in the land of Egypt, 47:7,11. But how all this came about P does not

\* The repetition of the name and the answer יָנִיךָ as Gen. 22:11; Ex. 3:4 is also claimed for E; but Gen. 22:11 can only be assigned to E by manipulating the text and expunging יָנִיךָ.

† Two isolated and unexplained statements of Joseph's age, when tending flocks, 37:2, and when standing before Pharaoh, 41:46, are given to P by some critics and denied to him by others.

inform us. The critics are greatly exercised to account for so egregious a gap as this. Kayser suggests that P was theoretical rather than historical; Nöldeke, that R omitted P's account because it was contradictory to E and J; others, because it agreed with theirs. And yet elsewhere R is careful to preserve even the smallest scraps of P, though they are quite superfluous beside the more extended narratives of E or J, e. g., 19:29, and if we may believe the critics he is not deterred by inconsistencies.

The list of Jacob's family, vs. 8-27, is a critical puzzle. It is in the style of other genealogies attributed to P, and has expressions claimed as his, viz., Paddan-aram, v. 15, "souls," vs. 15,18,22,25-27, "came out of his loins," v. 26. And yet it has its doublets in P, Ex. 1:1-5; 6:14-25; Num. 26:5 sqq.; Israel, v. 8, is a mark of J; and, as Kayser affirms, it has too many allusions to J and E to admit of their being explained as interpolations. Thus, v. 12, "Er and Onan, etc.," refers to 38:9 J; v. 18, "Zilpah whom Laban gave to Leah," and v. 25, "Bilhah whom Laban gave unto Rachel" to 29:24,29\* E; vs. 20,27, Joseph's marriage and sons to 41:50-52 E.†

But it is alleged, VI, p. 12, that "P's statistics seem inconsistent with the prophetic stories." This is based on the assumption, which even Wellhausen repels, that every individual person named in the list was born before the migration into Egypt. Such an inference might indeed be drawn from 46:8,26 strictly taken. But to press the letter of such general statements into contradiction with the particulars embraced under them is in violation of the evident meaning of the writer. So 46:15 rigorously interpreted would make Leah to have borne thirty-three children to Jacob in Paddan-aram, one of whom was Jacob himself. Zilpah, v. 18, and Bilhah, v. 25, bare their grandsons as well as their sons. Benjamin is included, 35:24,26, among Jacob's sons born in Paddan-aram, though his birth near Ephrath is recorded but a few verses before. The numerical correspondences of the table, a total of seventy, the descendants of each maid precisely half those of her mistress (Leah 32, Zilpah 16, Rachel 14, Bilhah 7) suggest design and can scarcely be altogether accidental. And a comparison of Num. 26 leads to the belief that regard was had to the subsequent national organization in constructing this table and that its design was to include those descendants of Jacob from whom permanent families or tribal divisions sprang rather than those who chanced to have been born before the descent into Egypt. It need not surprise us, therefore, if we find a few names of those who were still in the loins of their fathers, Heb. 7:9,10, at the time of the migration. It is no departure from the

\* It is with the view of quietly evading this difficulty that Wellhausen and Dillmann absurdly sunder these verses from the rest of the chapter and give them to P.

† Also v. 15 Dinah to 30:21, if Kayser and Schrader are correct in referring ch. 34 entire to J.

‡ *Composition d. Hexateuchs*, p. 51: "This list once and again bursts through the historic bounds of Genesis." Critical consistency requires this admission from those who assign 37:2 and 41:46 to P, VI, p. 1, or this document will be in conflict with itself.

usages of Hebrew thought to conceive of unborn children as included in the persons of their parents, 46:4b.

This view of the design and character of the list relieves it of all difficulty that four sons are ascribed to Reuben v. 9, but only two 42:37; that, v. 12, Hezron and Hamul, grandsons of Judah, are included as substitutes for his two deceased sons; and that, v. 21, ten sons of Benjamin are named, though, 43:8; 44:22, etc., he is called נָעֵר\* nor does it matter that some of those who are here spoken of as sons of Benjamin were really his grandsons, Num. 26:40; 1 Chron. 8:3,4.

The divine names in this chapter are grouped together in the opening verses, vs. 1-3. "The God of his father Isaac," v. 1, and "the God of thy father," v. 3, together with the worship at Beersheba are in evident allusion to the altar built there by Isaac and the divine manifestation and promise there made, 26:23-25, though it is at variance with critical theories that E should thus refer back to J. Had God revealed himself, v. 3, as "Yahweh, the God of thy father," it would have seemed eminently appropriate. But "the God of Isaac" is a designation equivalent to Yahweh. And there are special reasons for using the term הָאֵל from its association with the name Israel here significantly employed, from its allusion to 35:11, where the promise was given on his return to Canaan, which is now emphatically repeated as he is about to leave it, and from the meaning of הָאֵל *the Mighty One* with its assurance, just then specially needed, of omnipotent protection and blessing, and a like assurance is involved in אֱלֹהִים v. 2, the God of creation and of universal providence.

## 4. LANGUAGE OF P.†

## OLD WORDS.

(1) רכוש see VI., p. 117. (2) רכש VI., p. 117.

(3) ארץ כנען VI., p. 117. (4) ואלה שמות Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (5) פרץ ארם Sect. 7, Lang. of P.

## 5. LANGUAGE OF J.‡

## OLD WORDS.

(1) שֶׁבֶר *trade* in grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) קָרָא *meet, befall*, 42:38; 49:1 J; 42:4 (so Dill.); Ex. 1:10; 5:8 E; Lev. 10:19 (later additions to) P. קָרָה Gen. 24:12; 27:20; 44:29; Num. 11:23 J; Gen. 42:29; Ex. 8:18; Num. 28:3 sq., 15 sq. E; Num. 35:11 P. (3) נָבַר *HI. recognize*, Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (4) שָׂאוּל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (5) לוֹלָא Gen. 43:10 J; לוֹלִי Gen. 31:42 E; Deut. 32:27 J, all in Hex. (6) פָּעַם Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (7) אָפוּא Sect. 10, Lang.

of E. (8) אוֹלִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) בתולה V., p. 151, note. (10) קָרָד Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (11) נִשְׂא עֵינַיִם Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) שִׁים V., p. 154. (13) חֲלִילָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) עָתוּד V., p. 155. (15) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) חֲרָה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (17) עָצַב V., p. 155. (18) מִקְנֵה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (19) עֵבֶר Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) אָסוֹן 42:38; 44:29 J; 42:4 (so Dill.); Ex. 21:22, 23 E.

\* נָעֵר *the youngest*, 42:18, 15, etc., denotes relative not absolute age, and has no reference to size. Rehoboam is called נָעֵר *young*, 2 Chron. 13:7, when he was upwards of forty years of age, 12:13. Though Benjamin was tenderly treated as the youngest of the family and Jacob's darling, it must not be inferred that he was still in his boyhood.

† The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 11.

‡ The numbers as VI., p. 14.

- (2) אָבֶל see above under ch. 42-44.  
 (3) מִלּוֹן see above under ch. 42-44 (on 42:27,28).  
 (4) טָף 48:8; 47:12,24; 50:8 J; 45:19; 46:5; 50:21; Ex. 10:10,24; 12:37; 32:16,17,24,26 E; Num. 14:3,31; 16:27 JE; Gen. 34:29 R; Num. 31:9,17,18 (later constituents of) P.  
 (5) הַתְּמָחָה 19:16; 48:10; Ex. 12:39 J; all in Hex.  
 (6) זְמֵרֶת 48:11 J; Ex. 15:2 E; all in Hex.  
 (7) כִּי 48:20; 44:18; Ex. 4:10,18; Num. 12:11; Josh. 7:8 J; all in Hex.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) שְׁלִיט 42:6 J, all in Hex.; "besides only Aram. and in late books, but it may here be a

technical word traditionally preserved, since it agrees remarkably with *Salatis* or *Saitis*, the name of the first ruler of the Hyksos in Egypt," Dillmann.

- (2) קָשׁוֹת 42:7 J; 42:30 E; fem. plur. nowhere else.  
 (3) אִמְתָּחוֹת see under ch. 42-44 (on 42:27,28).  
 (4) יָגוֹן 42:38; 44:31 J; all in Hex.  
 (5) עָרַב 43:9; 44:32 J; all in Hex.  
 (6) תְּמָחָה 48:23 J; all in Hex.  
 (7) מִשְׁנָה 48:12 J; all in O. T.  
 (8) מִטְמוֹן 48:23 J; all in Hex.  
 (9) כִּמְרֵי 48:30 J; all in Hex.  
 (10) הַתְּאֵפֶק 48:31; 45:1 J; all in Hex.  
 (11) מִשְׁאֵת 48:34 (three times) J; all in Hex.  
 (12) עֵמֶס 44:13 J; all in Hex.

## 6. LANGUAGE OF E.\*

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) שֹׁבֵר *buy* grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) חֹלֶם referred to E by rule. (3) עֵל-בֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (4) יָלַד V., p. 164, Lang. of J. (5) אֱלֹהִים explained above. (6) שִׁים V., p. 154, Lang. of J. (7) אֲנָכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) מְרַגֵּל 42:9,11,14,16,30,31,34 E; Josh. 2:1; 6:22,23 JE; verb רָגַל Josh. 7:12*b* J.  
 (2) מִשְׁמֵר 40:3,4,7; 41:10; 42:17,19 E; Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:34 P; all in Hex.  
 (3) צָרָה see under ch. 42-44.  
 (4) שָׁבַל 31:38; 42:36; 48:14; Ex. 23:26 E; Gen. 27:45 JE; Lev. 26:23; Deut. 32:25 J; all in Hex.  
 (5) נִבְחָל 45:3; Ex. 15:16 E; all in Hex.  
 (6) כִּלְכַל 45:11; 47:12; 50:21 E; all in Hex.  
 (7) חוּס 45:20 E; all in Hex. except Deut.

- (8) טָבַח 45:13,20,23 E; 24:10; Ex. 33:19 J; all in Hex. except Deut.  
 (9) רָיַג 45:24; Ex. 15:14 E; all in Hex. except once in Deut.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) בָּר 41:35,49; 42:3,25; 45:23 E; all in Hex.  
 (2) כְּנִיִּים 42:11,19,31,33,34 E; all in O. T.  
 (3) כִּרְחֹן 42:15,16 E; all in Hex.  
 (4) נָי (in an oath) 42:15,16 E; all in Hex.  
 (5) רַעְבוֹן 42:19,33 E; all in Hex.  
 (6) אֲכַל 42:21 E; 17:19 P; all in Hex.  
 (7) צָרָה 35:3; 42:31*b* E; all in Hex. except Deut.  
 (8) מְלִיץ 42:23 E; all in Hex.  
 (9) צָרוּר 42:35*b* E; all in Hex.  
 (10) מַחֲזִיה 45:5 E; Lev. 13:10,24 P.  
 (11) טַעַן 45:17 E; all in O. T.  
 (12) חֲלָפוֹת 45:23*b* E; all in Hex.  
 (13) פּוֹג 45:26 E; all in Hex.

## SEC. 12. 47:1-50:26.

## 1. Chapter 47.

The critics here again try to produce two divergent accounts by their usual method of making the part stand for the whole, and arranging successive incidents against each other as though they were variant reports of the same transaction. Joseph first presents five of his brethren to Pharaoh, that they may state their occupation and have an appropriate residence assigned them. He then pre-

\* The numbers as VI., p. 16.

sents his father *causa honoris* for a formal interview.\* This is all natural enough. But the critics will have it that there was but one presentation, viz., of the brothers, vs. 2sq. J, or of the father, vs. 7-11 P. Then the words "as Pharaoh had commanded," v. 11, with their evident allusion to vs. 5,6, make it necessary to sunder these verses; † vs. 5b,6a are given to P and vs. 2-5a,6b retained for J, whereupon it is urged as the result of this dissection that what J calls, v. 6b, "the land of Goshen" P calls, v. 11, the land of Rameses, though this latter expression occurs but once and is an equivalent designation drawn from the chief city of the district.

Moreover v. 12 must be assigned to E as the fulfilment of the promise, 45:11, though E had not recorded the arrival in Egypt. This deprives the contrasted passage, vs. 13-26, of its proper connection and the difficulty is to find out where it belongs. The criteria of J and E are so intermingled in it that Dillmann thinks it necessary to assume that it was written by J on the basis of a previous narrative by E, which may originally have stood immediately after 41:55, and that it has been worked over by R. ‡ Wellhausen takes it to be part of a supposed narrative by J parallel to that of E in ch. 41.

Verse 27b must be assigned to P as it has his characteristic expressions, notwithstanding the fact that it is duplicated by Ex. 1:7 P in violation of the critical rule so urgently enforced elsewhere, and notwithstanding the fact that it must then be severed from 27a, with which it is closely connected, (since "Israel" and "land of Goshen" are marks of J), and attached to v. 11.

The mention of Jacob's age§ and the term of his residence in Egypt, v. 28, is plainly preparatory to vs. 29-31, his charge to Joseph respecting his burial; but as he subsequently gives a like charge to all his sons, 49:29-33, a doublet is once more assumed, and the former given to J, and the latter to P.

Thus a well arranged, well connected narrative is torn to shreds, set at variance with itself, and thrown into confusion for the most trivial and inconclusive reasons.

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\* The critics say, VI., p. 20, that Jacob as the head of the clan ought to have been presented first. They may settle that matter with the historian, or if they please with R. The sons were the active members of the family, and the reason given in the narrative itself for the order of procedure is sufficient, cf. 84:5,11,13.

† The proposal to substitute the LXX. for the Massoretic text of 47:5,6, VI., p. 19, would certainly not be made by an unbiased critic. Dillmann's motive in it is obvious enough. The LXX. have here, as so frequently elsewhere, rearranged the text for reasons of their own, which in this instance are quite apparent. In order to bring Pharaoh's answer into more exact correspondence with the request of Joseph's brothers, 6b is made to follow immediately after v. 4, and then a clause is inserted to prepare the way for v. 5.

‡ 47:26 J manifestly alludes to E 41:34. This and many similar facts, e. g., 46:28 J linked to 46:5 E, are consistent with Dillmann's view that J was acquainted with E, but not with that of Wellhausen that they were entirely independent.

§ The inconsistencies charged, VI., p. 20, have already been answered, VI., p. 206.

## 2. Chapter 48.

This chapter fares no better. The continuous narrative of Jacob's blessing the sons of Joseph is parcelled into fragments. "After these things," v. 1, is a mark of E, but as the preceding record is not from E, it is hard to tell what is referred to. "Israel" is a sign of J; 2b must accordingly be cut out from the connection to which it belongs, and be tacked on to the previous chapter. El Shaddai and other critical marks require that vs. 3-7 should be given to P; it thus becomes a disconnected fragment severed from its appropriate introduction and from the rest of the scene, in which it has its proper place. The remainder of the chapter is sadly split up by the alternate recurrence of "Israel," a mark of J, and "Elohim," a mark of E;\* and after all the aid of R has to be invoked to account for Israel in vs. 8,11,21, where the critics themselves shrink from adhering to their own test.

"The composite character of this chapter" is thus argued, VI, p. 25: "(1) 48:1 = 47:29"; but they belong to different occasions. "(2) v. 8 says Israel saw the children of Joseph, while 10a tells us, he could not see"; but if "Israel" is a mark of J, vs. 8,10a and 11 belong to the same document, moreover while he saw Joseph's sons he could not tell who they were. "(3) vs. 15sq. break the story of the crossing of the hands"; they merely complete the statement of Jacob's action before proceeding to say how Joseph interrupted it. "(4) v. 20a = 19"; not so, v. 19 is an explanatory statement to Joseph, v. 20 the formal blessing pronounced upon his sons. The following "differences" are alleged: "(1) according to E, Jacob is *sick* in his last days; not so in J. (2) J alone has the story about Joseph's oath. (3) J alone has the anecdote about the crossing of hands. (4) According to E, Joseph only receives Jacob's blessing, no other of the children, as J gives in ch. 49. (5) Jacob's blindness is known only to J." This simply amounts to saying that if a narrative be divided into two or more parts, one part will not contain what is found in another part.

By the same species of legerdemain Wellhausen and Dillmann claim that 48:22 is at variance with 34:25,26, and in the next breath confess that it agrees with vs. 27-29.

The following divine names occur in this chapter: El Shaddai, v. 3, with allusion to 35:11; Elohim, vs. 9,11,20 with reference to general providential blessings; **האלהים** "the God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God who fed me all my life long," is but a paraphrase of Yahweh; Elohim, v. 21, Jacob dies, but God will be with his descendants.

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\* Wellhausen, who here shows himself less heroically consistent than Dillmann, gives vs. 8-7 to P, but all the rest of the chapter to E, affirming that it shows everywhere the peculiarities of E and that Israel can no further be considered a mark of J.

## 3. Chapter 49.

49:1-27 is referred to J, not as composed by him, and consequently not on grounds of diction and style, but as a pre-existing writing incorporated in his work, which is inferred from previous allusions to what is here said of Reuben, v. 4, cf. 35:22, and of Simeon and Levi, vs. 5-7, cf. 34:30. It is especially urged that the latter conflicts with 48:22 E, where Jacob says to Joseph, "I have given thee one portion (שָׁמַר) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." It is said that Jacob could not have spoken of the capture of Shechem by his sons, which he so severely reprobated, as though it were his own act. This difficulty has been long felt and there have been various attempts at explanation, e. g., that לקחתי took was a prophetic preterite (Tuch), or that Shechem is not referred to, but some other district whose capture is not recorded (Kurtz), or that the allusion is to Jacob's purchase, 33:19, which he may subsequently have had to defend by force of arms. Kuenen supposes the same allusion, and proposes to read "not with my sword and with my bow." Josh. 24:32; John 4:5 and the word שָׁמַר show that some transaction at Shechem is referred to. While Jacob deprecated and sharply censured the action of his sons, it nevertheless was the act of the clan of which he was the head; but the property so acquired he gives not to those who participated in the deed, but to Joseph as a mark of special favor, and an earnest of his future inheritance in the land of promise.

The critics try to fix the age of this blessing of Jacob on the assumption that it is a *vaticinium post eventum*. Tuch refers it to the time of Samuel when the tribe of Levi was in ill-repute; Ewald to that of Samson the famous judge from the tribe of Dan, Knobel to the reign of David, Wellhausen to the period of the schism and the rival kingdoms of Judah and Joseph. Dillmann seeks to make it all square with the time of the judges. But the fact is that it is impracticable to find any one period, when this blessing could have been composed with the view of setting forth the existing state of things. The sceptre in Judah found no adequate fulfilment until the reign of David; and from that time forth the consideration enjoyed by the tribe of Levi was such that it could not possibly have been spoken of in the terms here employed. So that Kuenen in despair of finding any one date for the entire blessing supposes it to be made up of brief sayings which circulated in the tribes to which they severally related. But the censures passed upon the first three evidently prepare the way for that of Judah. The prominence given to Judah and Joseph are clearly intentional, not accidental, and several of the blessings would be insignificant or unmeaning, if taken by themselves and disconnected from the rest.

The structure and contents of this blessing make it impossible to explain it as a *vaticinium post eventum*. What is said respecting Levi compels to the

assumption that it is pre-Mosaic. A dispersion resulting from their priestly rank could not after that be spoken of as a sentence for the misdeed of their ancestor. The whole blessing is only comprehensible as utterances of the dying patriarch, modified by personal reminiscences, by insight into the characters of his sons and by their very names, with its ejaculation of pious faith, v. 18; and as a forecasting of the future which found its fulfilment at separate epochs and in unexpected ways, and which, while clear and sharp in a few strongly drawn outlines, is vague in others, and has no such exactness in minute details as suggests actual historical experience.

The mechanical rigor with which Dillmann adheres to the text furnished by the name "Jacob" appears from his sundering v. 1a from its connection and linking it with vs. 28b-33, which is given to P as the alleged doublet of 47:29-31, though this in reality describes a different scene. The emphatic iteration in vs. 29-32 as in the original account of the transaction referred to, ch. 23, shows the stress laid by the writer on this initial acquisition of a permanent possession in the land of Canaan.

The divine names אֱלֹהִים and יְהוָה, both suggestive of omnipotence, occur in v. 25; and יְהוָה in v. 18, where Jacob gives expression to his own pious trust.

#### 4. Chapter 50.

We are told that there are two distinct and varying accounts of Jacob's interment, VI., p. 20, J's vs. 1-11,14, conducted by Joseph with great pomp and an immense retinue, and P's vs. 12,13, in which all his sons and no others take part. J's narrative is the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. He gives no account either of the death (49:33 P) or the burial. Joseph goes with a great company to bury his father: he comes back after burying his father; but of the actual burial nothing is said. The only account of that is in the verses that are cut out and assigned to P. Kautzsch finds a doublet in 10b and insists that there are three distinct places of interment representing as many variant narratives, the threshing-floor of Atad, Abel-mizraim, and the cave of Machpelah; only it so happens that this last is the only place at which any burial is spoken of. Joseph's report of his father's language, 50:5, does not precisely correspond with 47:30: but as both passages belong to J, no fresh argument for partition can arise, however it is to be explained.

Verses 15-26 are assigned to E on account of the repeated recurrence of Elohim, notwithstanding the two-fold statement of age, vs. 22,26, such as is always elsewhere given to P, and two phrases which R is credited with having inserted from J, "spake to their heart," v. 21 as 34:3, and "the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob," v. 24; in the passages assigned to E no promise is given of the land of Canaan to any one of the patriarchs. The proof of unity arising from these frequent cross-references from one document to

the other can only be evaded by using the critical knife and invoking the agency of R.

P records the death and the interment; J the embalming, the funeral procession and the return from the grave; E the subsequent apprehensions of Joseph's brothers and his generous treatment of them. And yet these extracts from separate works, as they are said to be, match as perfectly as though they had come from the same pen, and the continuity of the narrative is as accurately preserved.

The divine names are, v. 17, "the God of thy father," which sufficiently identifies the God whom they served, and Elohim, vs. 19,20,24,25, where the contrast is each time that of the human and the divine.

## 5. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

(1) ימי שני 47:8,9,28, but once beside in Hex. 25:7 P. (2) אהוזה Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (3) פרה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (9) פדן Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (10) האסף אל עם Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (11) גוע Sect. 3, Lang. of P (6:17). (12) מכפלה Sect. 6, Lang. of P.

## 6. LANGUAGE OF J.

The words attributed to J with scarcely an exception occur also in E.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) עברך Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (2) גם with pers. pron., Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (3) גם-גם 24:25,44; 48:8; 44:16; 46:34; 47:3,19; 50:9; Deut. 32:25 J; Gen. 32:20; Ex. 12:31,32; 18:18; Num. 28:25 E; Num. 18:3 P. (4) עתה V., p. 155, repeatedly in J and E, also in P 48:5. (5) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (6) שים V., p. 154 (also E and P). (7) מקנה Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (8) כלכל Sect. 11, Lang. of E. (9) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J (also E and P). (10) שבר *trade* in grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (11) הבה Sect. 4, Lang. of J (also E). (12) נהל Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also E). (13) ארמה V., p. 153 (also E and P). (14) רק Sect. 3, Lang. of J (also E). (15) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (16) הן 15:3; 27:11; Ex. 5:5; 8:22; Num. 28:9 E; Ex. 6:12,30; Lev. 10:18,19; Num. 17:27 P; Num. 31:16 (latest constituents of) P. (17) מצא תן Sect. 3, Lang. of J (6:5-8). (18) עשה חסד Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also E). (19) אנכי Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (20) שית Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also E, once P (Well.) Ex. 7:28). (21) רע בעיני Sect. 6, Lang. of E.

(22) מאן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (23) גרל Sect. 4, Lang. of J (also E, once P Num. 6:5). (24) קרא happen Sect. 11, Lang. of J (also E and P). (25) אן also E and P Ex. 12:44,48; Num. 20:6; Josh. 22:31. (26) ארור also E and P Num. 5:18,19,22, 24bis,27. (27) קשה also E and P. (28) טרף Sect. 10, Lang. of J (also E). (29) רבץ Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (30) דון Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E). (31) ארוח Sect. 6, Lang. of J (twice in Hex.). (32) כרה 26:25; 50:5 J; Ex. 21:33; Num. 21:18 E. (33) אקל 50:10,11 J; 27:41 JE; Deut. 34:8 P all in Hex. (34) יהוה explained above. (35) שטם 49:23 J (not composed by him); 27:41 JE; 50:15 E; all in Hex.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) יצן (or יצן) 30:38; 33:15; 48:9; 47:2 J; Ex. 10:24 E; all in Hex. (2) כטה 47:31; Ex. 7:28 J; 48:2; 49:33 out of an E and P context and ascribed to J; all in Hex. (3) גרן 50:10,11 J; Num. 18:27,30 P; Num. 15:20 S (Dill.), Editor of Lev. 17-26 (Well.); all in Hex. except Deut. (4) תמך 48:17 J; Ex. 17:12 E; all in Hex.

\* The numbers are those of VI., p. 19.

† Nos. 27-31 are based on Gen. 49, which was not composed by J and does not represent his diction.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) מרעה 47:4 J; all in Hex.  
 (2) אָפֶס 47:15,16 J; all in Hex.  
 (3) כָּוֹר to conceal 47:18; Josh. 7:19; all in Hex. in this sense.  
 (4) גִּוִּיה 47:17 J; all in Hex.

- (5) אָפֶס 47:23 J; all in Hex.  
 (6) חֲנֹט 50:2,3 J; 50:26 E; all in Hex.

\**Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.*

- (1) לָהֹה 47:18 J; all in Hex.  
 (2) זָקֵן 48:10 J; all in O. T.  
 (3) שָׁכַל Pi. 48:14 J; all in O. T.

## 7. LANGUAGE OF E.\*

The words attributed to E with scarcely an exception occur also in J.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים explained above. (2) חֹכֵן Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (3) שִׁים V., p. 154 (Lang. of J). (4) אֲנִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (5) שָׁטַם Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (6) נָשָׂא *forgive* Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (7) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (8) חָשַׁב Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (9) כָּלֵל Sect. 11, Lang. of E. (10) נָחַם Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (11) טָף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (12) דָּבַר על לב Sect. 9, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) שָׁלַשׁ 50:23 E; Ex. 34:7 J; Ex. 20:5 JE; Num. 14:18 R; all in Hex. except Deut.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) פָּלַל Pi. 48:11 E; all in Hex.  
 (2) רָגַה (verb) 48:16 E; all in Hex.  
 (3) גָּמַל (Q&I) 50:15,17 E; all in Hex.

## CONCLUSION.

We have now completed the critical study of the Book of Genesis and may pause at this point, while we sum up in a few words the results of our investigation. The critics claim that the alternation of divine names in this book is best accounted for by the assumption that Genesis is compiled from different documents, each using its own particular term for God; and when the partition is effected on this basis, each is found to have all the marks of separate authorship, its own peculiar diction and style, its own plan and purpose, and a conception of the history and of religious truth peculiar to itself. How far does the reality correspond with the claim which they make?

The interchange of divine names can, as we have seen, be readily accounted for in every instance from the significance and general biblical usage of the names themselves, while it cannot be brought into harmony with the hypothesis of the critics. In repeated instances Yahweh occurs where by the hypothesis it ought not to be, as 15:1,2; 17:1; 20:18; ch. 22; 28:21, and if Dillmann is right in referring ch. 14 to E, in 14:22. Elohim and El Shaddai also occur in inconvenient places, 4:25; 7:9; 43:14, and require the separation of what is most closely united, as 33:5,11; ch. 48, etc., etc.

In spite of the utmost efforts and the most ingenious devices it is impracticable to make out the continuity of the documents. By dint of picking out available clauses here and there and sundering them from their proper connection a shift is made to carry J along through the flood, and P through the early history of Abraham, R's conduct in preserving these scraps being explained by his reluctance to omit even the most insignificant portion of his sources. But this has to

\* The numbers are those of VI., p. 24.

be abandoned in the lives of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, where the most enormous gaps confessedly occur in each of the so-called documents. And everywhere in fact it appears that one document implies or expressly alludes to what is stated only in another; so that Dillmann maintains that J made use of E, and Jülicher that P drew upon both J and E; and indeed an unbiased consideration of the facts shows that they are all so closely bound together by mutual references and implications as well as by conformity of plan and purpose, that they cannot by possibility have been independently conceived and written.

In the attempt to establish the separateness of the documents large use is made of what the critics are pleased to consider parallel narratives, but which are not such in fact. Gen. 2 is treated as though it were a second account of the creation, when it is really a sequel to Gen. 1 preliminary to the fall, Gen. 3. God's subjective purpose to send the flood, 6:7, is confounded with his declaration of that purpose to Noah, 6:13, his acceptance of Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22, with his consequent covenant with Noah, 9:1 sqq., as though these were identical repetitions implying different narrators; and so in numberless instances. Successive parts of the same transaction, or different elements entering into its constitution (e. g., the human and the divine, 30:37 sqq.; 31:7 sqq., or different motives for Jacob's journey, 27:42 sqq., 46, or for the hatred of Joseph, 37:4,8) are converted into variant accounts of the same thing when in fact they are mutually consistent and supplementary. This has been carried by Wellhausen and Dillmann to the utmost extravagance by means of so-called doublets, every emphatic repetition or enlargement being so considered and held to be an indication of some imaginary parallel of which only these occasional snatches survive.

Parallels are further found in totally distinct events, which differ in the actors, times, localities and circumstances, but have some general and easily explained resemblance. The resemblances are first paraded in proof of identity, and then the differences as so many discrepancies in the several accounts. Discrepancies are further multiplied by isolating passages and needlessly interpreting them at variance with their connection, every evidence of consistency being arbitrarily thrown out of the text as a harmonizing addition by R, e. g., 7:7-9; 13:1; 15:7; 16:8-10; 26:1,15; 35:9, etc., etc.

The most capricious and inconsistent conduct is attributed to R, such as is an impeachment of both his honesty and good sense. He is held responsible in fact for everything that is at variance with the requirements of the hypothesis. And on the supposition that such a person really existed and did the work ascribed to him, it is quite impossible to form any intelligent notion of his methods or his aims. We are told that in some places he carefully preserves minute fragments of his sources, though they are a superfluous repetition of what has already been more fully stated in the language of other documents, and yet elsewhere he freely omits large and essential portions of them. In some

places he preserves unchanged what is represented to be plainly antagonistic, while in other places he is careful to smooth away discrepancies, and to give a different turn to variant passages by transpositions or by insertions of his own. He sometimes keeps his documents quite distinct in language and form, at others he effaces their peculiarities or blends them inextricably together. All these offices must be assumed by turns in order to carry the hypothesis safely through; but whether such a bundle of contradictions was ever incarnate in any actually existing person, the only proof of his existence being that these contradictory things are alleged about him, every one may judge for himself.

The diversity of diction and of religious conception, which is claimed for the so-called documents is as fallacious as the other arguments urged in proof of their separate existence. Formidable lists of words and phrases are massed together as the peculium of this or the other document. And the first impression produced by marshalling so vast an array naturally is that this is a very significant circumstance indeed. But it only needs a patient examination of these details with the lexicon and concordance, and a careful scrutiny of their real bearing, to show that they are absolutely devoid of significance for the purpose for which they are adduced.

Words are not to be mechanically counted but intelligently estimated. They are signs of thought; and that the words vary with the thought to be expressed implies no diversity of writers. A writer does not forfeit his identity because he uses words in one place which he has no occasion to employ in another. A very large number of words occur in J and E which are not found in P, and a considerable number in P which are not in J and E; but the reason is obvious. It should be observed at the outset that the words credited by the critics to particular documents require not a little sifting. A thorough examination shows that many of them recur in other documents likewise, or are of very rare occurrence even in that document to which they are assigned, and consequently are either not peculiar to it or not characteristic of it. These are plainly of no moment from any point of view.

But besides this, all that is assigned to P in Genesis, ch. 1-11, apart from genealogies is the creation, 1:1-2:3, and what is regarded as his account of the deluge in chs. 6-9. The great proportion of the words here classed as peculiar to P occur in no other P section of Genesis; then why should it be accounted strange, if they are not found in any section of J? They belong to the description of grand and world-wide events affecting all orders of animated beings; and why should they be expected to recur in narratives of the every-day life of individual men? The terms for God's covenanting with Noah recur when he covenants with Abraham. Those that respect the sex and species of animals recur in the ritual prescriptions dealing with such subjects. But many more technical terms of the ritual are to be found in J, Gen. 1-11, e. g., נַפְשׁ soul (=

person), קדם *east*, זהב *gold*, אבן שהם *onyx stone*, צלע *rib*, לחם *bread*, עפר *dust*, כתנת *coat*, עור *skin*, כרובים *cherubim*, מנחה *offering*, חלב *fat*, צאן *flock*, נשא פנים *lift up the face* (4:7), חטאת *sin*, פתח *door*, ארר *curse*, עון *bear iniquity*, פני יהוה *face of Yahweh*, אהל *tent*, מקנה *cattle*, נחשת *brass*, ברזל *iron*, טהור *clean*, יונה *dove*, זית *olive*, מזבח *altar*, העלה *offer*, עולה *burnt offering*, ניחח *sweet savour*, יין *wine*, ערוה *nakedness*. This list of words common to the J section of Gen. 1-11 and to the ritual law, and which are not found in the P portion of these chapters and for the most part in none of the sections assigned to P in Genesis, might be yet further increased. It shows, if critical arguments have any value, that the former has as much claim as the latter, or even a greater claim to be regarded as of one piece with the ritual law. The J sections of these chapters really offer more points of contact with the diction of the ritual law than the P sections do. And in respect to the genealogies, it has already been pointed out, V., p. 162, that ch. 5 is as closely bound to chs. 2-4, J, as to ch. 1, P.

In the rest of Genesis, chs. 12-50, two chapters are assigned to P, viz.: chs. 17 and 28, the former recording the institution of circumcision, in which the phrases of the ritual law are to be expected, the latter the purchase of the cave of Machpelah with legal precision and formality. The promises of ch. 17 and the transaction of ch. 28 are repeatedly referred to, and, as is natural, in language borrowed from these chapters. Apart from these chapters and passages based upon them, P is confined to genealogies or brief statements for the most part of the patriarchs' removals, or of their ages or death. The entire narrative portion is given to J, or divided between J and E. Of course the words and phrases appropriate to such matters as are assigned to P are found in P; and such as are appropriate to ordinary narratives are found in J and E. With such a distribution of the material it could not be otherwise. It requires no assumption of a diversity of writers to account for it. In one chapter only, ch. 34, the critics are compelled by the allusion to circumcision to allow P a share in the narrative, and the result is instructive. The diction of P is there indistinguishable from that of J, and the critics are utterly at sea as to the lines of demarcation. It has further been shown that the paragraphs recording the removals of the patriarchs are more closely linked to J than to P; that ch. 17, P, is indissolubly connected with the preceding and following chapters of J, of which it is an indispensable link, and that it owes all its alleged peculiarities to its position in this ascending series; and that the statements of the ages of the patriarchs cannot all be referred to P without doing the utmost violence to the connection. In fact the critics are in the habit of playing fast and loose with a criterion which at times is their sole or chief dependence, and at others is disregarded entirely. While they profess to trace documents in a great measure by the connection of their several parts, they in numerous instances sunder what is most intimately bound together

by necessary implications or express allusions, thus nullifying their own principal clue and invalidating their own conclusions.

The two forms of the divisive hypothesis in chs. 12-50 are tossed on the opposite horns of a dilemma. The supplementary critics, who recognize but one Elohist and accordingly regard E as a part of P, can establish no criteria, by which to distinguish it from J. The documentary critics, who find two Elohist by separating E from P, leave for the latter only incoherent and unrelated fragments torn from their proper connection, which are without reason assumed to have once constituted a distinct document.

Between J and E scarcely any discrimination is attempted in point of diction beyond יהוה of one and אלהים of the other. The "special characteristics," whether in thought or language, by which E is said to be distinguished from J are considered, V., p. 171, and shown not to be distinctive at all. The alleged theological differences between P and J are also considered, V., p. 182, and shown so far as they actually exist to be involved in the meaning and usage of the divine names. Do not the facts of the case accordingly compel to the conclusion that the divisive hypothesis has no rational basis whatever in the Book of Genesis?

It has been my object throughout this discussion, so far as it has now proceeded, to examine with candor and thoroughness all the arguments in favor of a critical division of Genesis. I feel, as I stated in my first paper, no antecedent repugnance to such a division, if it can be fairly proved and apart from the revolutionary and destructive consequences, which are ordinarily deduced from it. But so far as I can see, the case is not proven. In spite of all the critical clamor, and the scholarly names arrayed on the side of the divisive hypothesis, I see no good ground for abandoning the old traditional belief of the unity of Genesis. And if the divisive hypothesis cannot maintain itself on literary grounds in Genesis, it cannot do so anywhere. In the historical portions of the Pentateuch that follow and in the Book of Joshua the analysis proposed by the critics is far more complicated, and simply amounts to forcing through a hypothesis considered as already established. It very plainly gathers no strength as it proceeds.

In the legislative portion of the Pentateuch the question turns no longer upon literary criteria, but upon an entirely different principle: are the institutions and enactments of the Pentateuch the growth of ages or the product of one age and of a single mind? It is here that the battle of the Mosaic authorship must be fought. Meanwhile the investigations thus far conducted justify at least a negative conclusion. We have examined the so-called anachronisms of the Book of Genesis, and find nothing which militates against its being the work of Moses. It is plainly designed to be introductory to the law. And if that law was given by Moses, as has always been believed and as the Scriptures abundantly declare, then Genesis, too, was his work.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:61.

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B. Ex. 1:1-12:61.

### SECTION XIII. EX. 1:1-7:7.

#### The Divine Names.

Elohim and Jehovah are here used with the same discrimination that we have found to characterize their employment throughout the Book of Genesis. Elohim is appropriate 1:17,21 in the phrase "feared God" as a general term for piety, compare Gen. 20:11; 22:12, the article being added **האלהים** as Gen. 24:18, to indicate that this pious fear was directed to the true God; 1:20 of providential benefits; 2:23-25 where the contrast is between human oppressors of Israel and God who espoused their cause; 3:1 and 4:27 the mountain of God as the scene of a divine revelation, compare 18:6; 4:16 and 7:1 Moses is instead of God as an organ of divine communication; 4:20 the rod of God as an instrument of divine power, compare 17:9. In ch. 3 God reveals himself to Moses as Jehovah, and during this interview the two names are interchangeably employed; thenceforth Jehovah is regularly used (with the exceptions above mentioned, which are for special reasons) until 6:2,3, where God again makes himself known as Jehovah, promising to Moses in his despondency such a manifestation of what this name involved as had never been witnessed before.

#### A. The Portion Assigned to J.

The bulk of the narrative is as in Genesis given to JE, and the attempt is made to bridge the chasm thus created and produce the semblance of continuity for P by arbitrarily assigning to it a few scattered verses, sundered from their proper connection. In all this the critics repeatedly set at naught their own criteria as well as violate the evident proprieties of the case. The alleged peculiarities of language, style, material and theology are purely fictitious, resulting directly from the division made in this closely connected and regularly unfolding narrative, and do not in any way suggest diversity of authorship.

#### 1. Chapter 1:1-5,7,13,14.

The list of Jacob's sons 1:1-5 is a brief recapitulation of the more detailed account, Gen. 46:8-27, some of whose peculiar expressions it retains, while never-

theless the order of the names is modified into conformity with the like list, Gen. 35:23-26. By almost unanimous critical consent these three enumerations are alike referred to P, which is an admission that the same writer may have occasion to repeat statements before made; and that such repetitions may be no indication of distinct sources. And even though with Kayser, Gen. 46:8-27 and Ex. 1:5a be imputed to R to escape critical embarrassments (which others try to evade by claiming that Gen. 46:8 sqq. has been worked over by R), the identity of Gen. 35:23 sqq. and Ex. 1:1-4,5b remains. Knobel claims Ex. 1:6 for P along with the rest of the paragraph, vs. 1-7, to which it belongs; but as this verse manifestly prepares the way for vs. 8 sqq., the majority of critics cut it out of its connection and attribute it to E, notwithstanding the fact that a previous record of the death of Joseph is also ascribed to him, Gen. 50:26. Verse 7 is also given to P, though he is reputed to have already stated the vast multiplication of the children of Israel in Egypt, Gen. 47:27. And yet immediately after having thus three times in succession referred two statements of the same thing to one writer, the critics gravely affirm that 1:12a is a doublet of 1:7 and 1:11 of vs. 13,14 (*HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27), and must consequently be traced to different documents, though each verse is precisely in place in the plan of this admirably constructed chapter.

The enormous increase of the Israelites is depleted 1:7 by heaping together four synonymous verbs, and adding a duplicated intensive adverb. The critics have taken offence at this unusual combination, which is plainly due to the effort to give adequate expression to this most extraordinary case. Nöldeke would erase *ויעצמו*. *ויעצמו*. *ויעצמו*. *ויעצמו*. Wellhausen and Dillmann *ויעצמו* *ויעצמו*. Schrader *ויעצמו* only, as

insertions from a parallel narrative. But *פרה*, *רבה*, and *שרץ* are combined in P, Gen. 8:17; 9:7. The verb *עצם* occurs but once in the Pentateuch outside of this chapter, viz., Gen. 26:16, J; so, as Jülicher confesses, there is no reason why it should not here belong to P. *רב* and *עצום* are joined together, Num. 32:1a P, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch except in this chapter and in Deuteronomy.

The immense number of Israelites, v. 7, is in obvious contrast to their fewness when they entered Egypt, vs. 1-5, and is the necessary explanation of all that follows, vs. 8-22, the perplexity of the king of Egypt and the stern measures adopted for their repression. The very words of v. 7 are alluded to v. 9 (*רב* (*ויעצום*) and v. 20 (*וירב ויעצמו מאד*)). The whole chapter is thus solidly bound together, and no room left for the critical assumption that this latter portion is from a different document.

Four measures of growing severity were successively employed to oppress the Israelites and reduce their strength. 1. Taskmasters were set over them, v. 11. 2. As this proved abortive, v. 12, their bondage was intensified, and they were made to serve with rigor, vs. 13,14. 3. The midwives were commanded to destroy the male children of the Hebrews, vs. 15,16. 4. As this did not succeed, vs. 17-21, a like command was given by Pharaoh to all his people, v. 22. The regular progression in these cruel expedients shows that they form a continuous series. The

critics, however, sunder out one of the number and arbitrarily assign it to a different document from the rest. The allegation, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, that "1:13 sq. would logically come before 1:11" is a mistake, since the expressions of the former are more intense and so mark a more advanced stage. However "absurd" it may have been "for them to try the same means again," which had failed before, it is just what persecutors have always done. Why "in this case there would be no ground left for the command to destroy the infants" it is hard to see; after exhausting other expedients the king resorts to this barbarous measure. Verses 13,14 are, moreover, equally bound to the different documents, to P by "rigor" twice פָּרַח in Pentateuch besides only Lev. 25:43,46,53, to J by "made bitter" וַיִּמְרָרוּ in Pentateuch only besides Gen. 49:23, while "in brick" plainly points forward to the narrative Ex. 5:7 sqq. J (Well.) E (Dill.), an allusion which the critics seek to evade by erasing the unwelcome word with its adjuncts.

## 2. Chapter 2:23b-25.

The entire narrative between 1:14 and 6:2 is given by the critics to J or E and a shift made to fill the resulting gap in P by assigning to it 2:23b-25, though these verses are indispensable in the connection in which they stand and it is not even pretended that they contain a single word characteristic of P. And "the covenant with Isaac" is a clear reference to J, Gen. 26:2-5,24; no such covenant is mentioned in any passage assigned by the critics to P. אֱלֹהִים affords no ground for division, since that is the only name of God which has thus far occurred in Exodus.

The suggestion, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, that 2:23a "is out of place," is entirely unfounded. It "does mean that the new king (of 1:8), the severe king died," and cannot mean anything else. But it is neither said nor implied that "the children of Israel groaned over it;" they sighed by reason of the bondage, which did not terminate with his death. Verses 23-25 are preliminary to God's revelation of himself to Moses, ch. 3, and commissioning him to deliver Israel. Two facts are stated to prepare the way for what is to follow. 1. The king of Egypt was dead: it was hence a favorable juncture for Moses to return and espouse the cause of Israel, cf. 4:19. 2. God heard the groans of Israel and remembered his covenant with their fathers; it may consequently be expected that he would interfere on their behalf. With explicit reference to the language here used God reveals himself to Moses, 3:6, and through him to the people, 3:15, 16, as the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, cf. 2:24. He adds, v. 7, "I have surely seen" (cf. 2:25 וַיֵּרָא), "and have heard their cry" (צַעֲקָתָם) שְׁמַעְתִּי, cf. 2:24 וַיִּשְׁמַע; v. 28 וַיִּזְעַקוּ). "I know" (cf. 2:25 וַיֵּדַע)\* v. 9, "the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me," cf. 2:23. If these verses are

\* In consequence of the coincidences in expression between 2:25 and 3:7, Jülicher feels constrained to refer the former not to P but to R.

assigned to a different document from ch. 8, then God speaks in the latter of having heard his people's cry, and yet there is no previous mention of their having cried to him.

### 3. Chapter 6:2-7:7.

From 2:25 the critics spring at once to 6:2, claiming that this is the true original connection in P, and that all that intervenes is from another source. This is urged upon the following grounds :

1. If 6:2 be joined directly with 2:25, the narrative will be continuous and the sense perfect.

2. 6:2 sqq. is full of references to 2:23-25, showing their intimate mutual relation.

3. 6:2-7:7 is a parallel and independent account of what had already been fully and somewhat variously related before.

4. The representation made in this section differs from that previously given in certain striking and characteristic particulars.

But these arguments do not prove what they are adduced to prove.

As to the first point, the seeming continuity of the narrative, if 8:1-6:1 be omitted.

(1) This is very far from showing that 2:25 was originally connected with 6:2. Distant paragraphs can often be fitted to one another by a little ingenuity so that a reader would not be aware that they did not belong together. This is especially the case with paragraphs, which, as in the present instance, record successive stages in the same transaction.

(2) The connection is perfectly good as the section now stands ; there is no incongruity or want of appropriateness in its present position and no reason for seeking to attach it elsewhere.

(3) Moses is suddenly introduced 6:2, and Aaron 6:13, with no previous intimation of their existence and no explanation who they were. This incongruity created by the removal of the very account (ch. 2 sqq.) here presupposed, gives rise to new critical assumptions. Kuenen fancies that P had spoken of Moses and Aaron in some passage which has not been preserved. Kayser gets rid of the allusion to Aaron by referring 6:13-30 to R. Dillmann declines to do this, but with a like view of finding the first mention of Aaron in 7:1 he transposes 6:30-7:5 before 6:13 and places 7:6 immediately after it. Wellhausen undertakes to supply the missing mention of Moses and Aaron by the conjecture that the account of their ancestry (6:16 sqq.) may originally have preceded 6:2, while in its present position and extent as including Aaron's wife and children (vs. 23 sqq.) the genealogy is in his judgment inappropriate and a later addition. The allegation, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, "P knows nothing of Moses' marriage, though mentioning the wives of Aaron and Eleazar," is simply a reluctant confession that this table of lineage intentionally omits what had already been recorded, 2:21,

thus proving itself to be of one piece with the antecedent history. The appositeness of the entire genealogy, every clause of which is in analogy with those previously given, further appears from the fact that it not only introduces Aaron and Moses, who are just entering upon the momentous task assigned them, but likewise Korah, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas, who are to figure in the subsequent history. This is in precise accordance with the invariable usage of the Pentateuch from the beginning, in which the line of descent of all the prominent actors is scrupulously traced. Nöldeke confesses the suitability of the table in general, but stumbles at the sons of Reuben and Simeon (vs. 14,15) as here uncalled for, and in his opinion an interpolation. Jülicher very properly replies that an interpolator would not have stopped with inserting these two names only, when there was an equal reason for adding all the rest of Jacob's sons. In fact there is a suitability in vs. 14,15 standing where they do to indicate Levi's place as the third in age in his father's family, as is conceded, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27. Jülicher proposes to relieve the suddenness of the mention of Moses in 6:2 by transposing before it the entire genealogy with 6:13 as its title, which will thus connect directly with 2:25; although this would place "Jehovah" in 6:13 prior to what he considers the first revelation of this name in 6:2,3. But after all this self-imposed trouble and these fruitless conjectures of the critics, it is difficult to see why the reasons, be they what they may, which led an imaginary R to give to this whole passage its present position, may not have been equally influential with the original writer. This busy tinkering merely betokens a weak spot, which needs in some way to be covered up.

As to the second critical allegation that 6:2 sqq. contain several verbal allusions to 2:23-25, it is freely admitted that God's hearing the groaning of the children of Israel and remembering his covenant, and the bondage, 6:5 refer to 2:23, 24. This shows that these passages are in intimate and designed relation to each other, but not that they were continuous. The language of 6:2-4 is still more closely conformed to that of Genesis, ch. 17, to which there is explicit reference and repeated verbal correspondence; but it does not follow from this that they belong in immediate juxtaposition or that violent critical methods are to be resorted to with the view of bringing this about.

The third allegation of the critics that 6:2 sqq. is a parallel account of the same transaction already recorded 8:1 sqq., is assumed not only without proof but in defiance of clear proof to the contrary. And this baseless assumption is the principal ground of the partitions here made.

(1) It is universally confessed that the connection in which this paragraph now stands and the manner in which it is related show that the author of the book understood this to be a distinct event from any that had been narrated before, and intended that it should be so regarded by his readers. The critics are consequently obliged to assume that R with all the sources in their primitive form

before him held this view which they are able to correct with simply the materials which he has left them.

(2) There are certain features of resemblance between the two transactions, but the time, place and attendant circumstances are different. Here the critics most unwarrantably urge the points in common in proof that they are the same event, and then parade the points of disagreement in evidence that these are variant and inconsistent accounts from different writers, who followed distinct traditions. In reality they only succeed thus in overthrowing their own argument. The discrepancies simply show that the events are, as the writer himself believed and represented, separate occurrences. And the respects, in which they agree, are such as might easily be repeated on successive occasions. It is neither inconceivable nor improbable that God should repeat to Moses, when dejected by the ill success of his first application to Pharaoh, the same assurances that had been given him when first called to this work, that he would make himself known to them as Jehovah, and fulfil the covenant made with their fathers and bring them out of the bondage of Egypt to the land of Canaan. On the contrary this is the most natural thing in the world, and just what might be expected under the circumstances. That he should repeat this to the people, 6:9, and that Aaron who had been made his spokesman unto the people, 4:16, should now be appointed his coadjutor before Pharaoh, 7:1,2 is also a matter of course. All this warrants no suspicion that there is here a fresh recital of what had been related before. Any history whatever could be discredited and endless confusion introduced into it, if on the ground of superficial resemblances distinct events were thus to be identified.

The fourth critical argument from the diversity of representation in this and the preceding section has already been substantially answered so far as statements of facts are concerned, by showing that it indicates not difference of authorship but a difference in the events recorded.

(1) The critics will have it that according to P, God's first revelation to Moses of his purpose to deliver Israel was made not in Midian, nor in the wilderness, but in Egypt, 6:28; and that P knows nothing of Moses having been up to this time anywhere else than in Egypt. It would be better to say that according to the critical partition Moses' previous history is an absolute blank in P; he neither knows where Moses has been nor what he has done, until suddenly and without explanation he comes into view in this transaction. There is no intimation that he had spent all his life in Egypt, nor that this was the first revelation made to him. The contrary seems to be implied in 6:28, where the Lord's speaking to Moses *in the land of Egypt* suggests a contrast with what he had spoken to him elsewhere. The simple fact, uncontradicted by any statement or implication in the whole narrative, is that God first appeared to Moses in Midian and summoned him to his work; he revealed himself to him again in Egypt after his unsuccessful appeal to Pharaoh.

(2) *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, "6:2sq. naturally means that God *introduces* himself to Moses as Yahweh, a name by which he has never before been known. But what does that mean in the face of 3:15? Would a writer forget himself so in the same section? Would he use such language and thus contradict a former statement?"

a. One would think that the very absurdity of their conclusions would lead the critics to reconsider their premises. No writer would so flatly contradict himself of course. Nor would any sensible Redactor. Can that interpretation of 6:3 be correct, which puts it in glaring and absolute contradiction with every previous passage in which the name Jehovah occurs? Is it conceivable that R, the presumed compiler of this great national history, used language in 6:3 which gives the lie to the whole antecedent portion of his work? that he in this verse uses language which means that the word Jehovah had never been heard nor uttered by the patriarchs, and yet in repeated passages before avers that it had been in constant use from the days of Eve and Enos downward? And yet the entire critical hypothesis is based on precisely this assumption.

b. It has before been shown, *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 187, that the critical interpretation of Ex. 6:3 is contradicted by the uniform meaning of the phrase in the mouth of God "know that I am Jehovah," which is used no less than twelve times in the immediately following chapters of Exodus with specific reference to the passage before us; it is contradicted likewise by the uniform usage of the phrase "to know the name of Jehovah" as found throughout the Scriptures. These expressions never denote an external acquaintance with the word Jehovah, but always a manifestation of the perfections of Jehovah in human experience. Such a manifestation should be accorded to the children of Israel under Moses as had never been witnessed by the patriarchs. The passage does not concern itself with the history of the word "Jehovah" and no inference can be drawn from it on this subject. Consequently it does not afford the slightest basis of conjecture that it once belonged to a document which sedulously avoided the use of the divine name Jehovah up to this point and thenceforth employed it.

c. But upon any interpretation of 6:3 there is no imaginable conflict between it and 3:15. Even if it meant that the word Jehovah was unknown to the patriarchs, there is no intimation or suggestion that it had not previously been made known to Moses. The charge of forgetfulness or selfcontradiction on the part of the writer is, therefore, on any view of the passage entirely gratuitous.

(3) *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, "From JE it would seem that Yahweh was known as the God of the patriarchs (3:15); in P this name is first revealed to Moses."

But according to all the critics 3:15 belongs to E; their uniform contention is that E in ch. 3 records the first revelation of the name Jehovah and they make this the basis of their assertion that it is parallel to ch. 6 and a narrative of the very same event by a different writer. On the critical hypothesis E and P alike

maintain that the name Jehovah was first revealed to Moses; so that even from this point of view the alleged conflict does not exist. But in truth neither ch. 8 nor ch. 6 concern themselves about the time when the word Jehovah first came into use; so that there is no room for any variance between them in respect to it.

(4) It is alleged that according to P, 6:9,12, the people in their dejection and distress would not hearken to Moses, whereas according to J, 8:18; 4:31 they believed his message.

But the seeming conflict is produced by the critics themselves, who confuse two separate occasions. When Moses first spoke to the people they believed; but when they found that the only result of his intervention was to increase their burdens, they would no longer hearken to him. Dillmann acknowledges that there is no contradiction here; that J or E must have given an account of the people's reception of the promise made in 6:1 and that R inserted 6:9 from that account.

(5) Other differences alleged, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, are quite trivial. "In J (8:7) and in E (8:9), God sees the oppression as well as hears their cry (that is, he is near); in P he only *hears*." But it is expressly said in P 2:25 that he sees (שָׁחַ) as well as hears, 2:24; 6:5. "According to P, God listens to Israel simply because he remembered his covenant with the patriarchs; but in JE it is his compassion for their suffering." "Simply" is inserted without warrant; while the title "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," 8:6,15,16 JE shows his memory of his covenant. "P knows nothing of Moses' lack of faith; while the prophetic writers make much of it (8:11-13; 4:1-17)." But Moses' original reluctance to undertake his mission was overcome, 4:18; why should it be expected to reappear subsequently in ch. 6? And yet 6:12,30 does show something of the same shrinking and sense of personal unfitness as 4:10.

(6) It is further alleged that in JE 8:18, permission is sought to go three days' journey into the wilderness, while in P, 6:11, the demand made upon Pharaoh is that he let the children of Israel go unconditionally; in JE, 6:1, the king himself is to drive them out, while in P, 7:4, the Lord shall lead them forth without the king's permission; in JE, 4:22, Moses but in P, 7:2, Aaron is the speaker in the presence of the king. These points can best be reserved for future consideration.

The fifth critical argument for sundering 6:2-7:7 from the immediately preceding context is drawn from its language and style which is said to be that of P and in marked contrast with that of the previous section.

But (1) it should be noted that the characteristic expressions of 6:2-4 are all taken from Genesis, ch. 17. "Jehovah appeared unto Abraham;" "God Almighty," Gen. 17:1; "establish my covenant," v. 7; "give the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage," v. 8. God known to Isaac and Jacob as God Almighty is with allusion to Gen. 28:3 and 35:11, both of which passages are also

based on Gen. 17. The repeated recurrence of these and other expressions drawn from Gen. 17 in combination does not indicate that the passages in which they are found are by a different writer from the rest of the narrative, who may be supposed always to employ them in preference to other equivalent phrases. These reminiscences of God's covenant with Abraham naturally clothe themselves in the very language of that great fundamental transaction, so momentous to him and to his descendants. But this does not prevent the same writer from using different forms of speech, when this particular transaction is not immediately in his thoughts.

(2) After 6:2-4, whose expressions are borrowed from Gen. 17, and v. 5\* which is similarly related to 2:23,24, the language is no longer purely such as is credited to P. Thus vs. 6,7 "burdens" סבלת; v. 6 "rid" הצייל; v. 8, "bring you into the land," the oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, lifting up the hand in token of an oath are all marks of JE, and "heritage" מורשה which occurs but once beside in the Hexateuch, is not the word that would be expected in P. With these are blended other expressions said to be characteristic of P as v. 6, "bondage" עבדה (but see Gen. 29:27; 30:26; Ex. 5:9,11 JE), "with a stretched out arm," for which JE has v. 1 "with a strong hand" (but in Deuteronomy the same writer repeatedly uses both together); "judgments" (also 7:4 and but twice beside in Hexateuch); v. 7, "I will be to you a God" (a phrase borrowed from Gen. 17:7, and here joined with "I will take you to me for a people," which occurs nowhere else in P) and "ye shall know that I am Jehovah." These mixed criteria in vs. 6-8, freely used by the same writer, can only be accounted for by the critics as due to the manipulation of R, and according to Dillmann vs. 9-13 are also made up by R partly from P and partly from JE.

(3) This brings us to the genealogical table, vs. 14 sqq., which Kayser attributes not to P but to R, and Wellhausen only partly to P, alleging that R must have added Aaron's descendants, while Jüllicher maintains that the table as originally prepared by P was fuller than it is at present, embracing descendants of all the sons of Jacob, and that a part of it was omitted by R. All insist that it has been displaced and put in an incongruous position. The oddest of all reasons for this displacement is that assigned, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, "in order to separate vs. 10-12 from 29 sq., which are practically identical;" as if it were not apparent that the language of vs. 10-12 is purposely repeated in 29 sq., in order formally to resume the subject interrupted by a brief digression. Dillmann gives the following account of the matter. In his opinion 7:1-5 is the proper answer given in P to the question of 6:12, and originally followed it immediately. But having inserted 9b and 12b<sub>c</sub> from J, R adds v. 13 as in sense if not in words the answer

\* In 6:5 "groaning" נאקה is counted as belonging to P, though it occurs but once beside in the Hex. 2:24; so "God remembering," but it is found also in JE Gen. 30:32; Ex. 32:18.

given in J; whereupon not to confuse the accounts from his two sources he first inserts the genealogy vs. 12-27, and then returns to the subject by an insertion of his own, vs. 28-30, introducing Moses' objection and adding from P the Lord's answer, 7:1-5; "a procedure" he remarks, "which is very suggestive of the peculiar conscientiousness of R." This seems to mean that R religiously preserves distinct whatever is contained in his sources, even when as in this instance one simply states in a summary form, 6:13, what the other gives in more detail, 7:1-6. How is it then that this same R, according to the critics, has left such serious gaps in his sources elsewhere in even the most important matters, as we have seen in repeated instances? All this critical manipulation shows that the critics are very far from being united in opinion in respect to this genealogy, though in fact it is just where and what it should be.

Dillmann very properly rebukes the prevalent notion among the critics that any degree of incongruity is sufficiently accounted for by charging it upon an interpolation or referring it to R. Why should an interpolator or redactor be imagined to have no sense of propriety? When the decisive point is reached that Moses and Aaron receive their final commission to Pharaoh, the writer pauses to trace their line of descent, then resumes his subject and proceeds as before. No more appropriate place could be found, nor one in better accord with the general plan of the work. There is accordingly no ground for the suggestion that this detailed account of Moses' parentage is by a different writer and one more familiar with his family history than the author of the general statement, 2:1. The particulars respecting his ancestry were purposely reserved until he assumed the leadership of Israel and confronted Pharaoh with his demands on their behalf.

(4) Even 7:1-7 is not free from difficulty for the critics, for one of J's words ארת sign occurs v. 3, which Dillmann thinks it necessary to eject and attribute to R.

All this goes to show that whenever the critics undertake to assign any continuous portion of the narrative to P, they find themselves in trouble.

## 1. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) נפש = person, VI., p. 117. (2) פרה ורבה Sect. 9, Lang. of P. (3) כארד כארד V., p. 174 (7:19). (4) שרץ in J, Ex. 7:28. (5) אלהים explained before. (6) אל שדי Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (7) הקים ברית V., p. 174 (6:18). (8) אלה only in genealogical tables and hence uniformly referred to P. (9) תלדות V., p. 152. (10) שני דיי Sect. 6, Lang. of P. (11) למשפחות V., p. 174 (8:13sq.).

## NEW WORDS.

(1) יצאי ירך in O. T. only Gen. 46:26; Ex. 1:5 P, for which Gen. 35:11 P has יצאן under other circumstances the critics would have insisted that this was the mark of a different writer. (2) פרך in Hexateuch only Ex. 1:13,14; Lev. 25:43,46,58. (3) יהוה explained before. (4) ראש אבות a genealogical term and as such always referred to P.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 26; the references are to previous explanations.

Knobel reckons among the marks of P עַרְל שְׁפִתַּי of *uncircumcised lips*, 6:12,30 which occurs nowhere else in the Hexateuch, nor even in the entire Bible. Other alleged marks of P are "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," 6:11,18,27,29, an emphatic combination, which occurs but four times in all the Hexateuch beside, Gen. 41:46; Ex. 14:8 (verses cut out of a JE connection and assigned to P) and Deut. 7:8; 11:8; elsewhere Pharaoh and the king of Egypt are freely interchanged 1:18,19; 5:4,5; 14:5. "The land of Canaan," 6:4, which nevertheless occurs at least fifteen times in JE in the Book of Genesis, 42:5; 7,18,29,32; 44:8; 45:17,25; 46:31; 47:1,4,13,14,15; 50:5 כֹּמֶת *one hundred*, 6:16,18; this construct form nowhere occurs in J or E, but even the absolute כֹּמֶת is only found in J, Gen. 6:8; 26:12 and in E Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32, unless con-

trary to the usual critical rule the record of Joseph's age, Gen. 50:22,26 and of Joshua, Josh. 24:29 are added; and in these instances the construct could not be used. חֹסֶת *host* applied to Israel, 6:26; 7:4; but both E, Gen. 21:22,32 and J, Gen. 26:26 use this word, and E speaks of Israel, Ex. 13:18 as equipped for war, and 14:19,20 a camp, implying that they were conceived of as an army. שָׂמַע with אֵל 6:9,12,30; 7:4, while in JE it is construed with בִּקּוּל or לִקּוּל 8:18; 4:1,8,9; 5:2; but J has אֵל שָׂמַע Gen. 16:11, and E, Gen. 30:17,22. The emphatic and somewhat pleonastic phrase, Ex. 7:6, "And Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded them, so did they": but a like phrase occurs 12:28 at the end of a J section from which the critics sunder it for no other reason than their own assumption that it always must belong to P.

## 2. STYLE.

It is easy to produce from the sections assigned to J and E parallels to all that is alleged of P in this respect, HEBRAICA, VI., p. 27 sq. How is P more "systematic" (1) in the "résumé of Jacob's family" 1:1-5 than J in Nahor's family, Gen. 23:20-24 or E in that of Keturah 25:1-4? (2) in "the use of אֱלֹהִים up to 6:3 and ה'וְהוּא" after it" (which is a mere assumption) than J in the use of Jacob up to Gen. 35:10 and Israel after it, as Dillmann claims? The systematic character of "the genealogy of Moses and Aaron" recognized in (3) and (4) and attributed to P is a sufficient reply to the cavils of critics respecting it.

How is P more "exact, numerical" in mentioning (1) "70 souls," 1:5, than J in 7 days and 40 days and 40 nights, Gen. 7:4, or E in 200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, 200 ewes, 20 rams, 30 milch-camels, 40 kine, 10 bulls, 20 she-asses, 10 foals, Gen. 32:14 sq., or 2 wives, 2 handmaids and 11 children, v. 22? or (2) the age of Levi, (3) Kohath, (4) Amram, (5) Moses and Aaron, than E in that of Joseph, Gen. 50:22,26 and Joshua, Josh. 24:29, not to speak of Gen. 37:2; 41:46 which are torn from their connection in order to assign them to P? or (6) in the recurring genealogical formulae than J in the births recorded, Gen. 29:32-35?

P is called "rigid, stereotyped," because of the constant use of the same phrases "at the opening and closing" of genealogies and "summing up" each subdivision. Genealogies are mostly assigned by rule to P,\* so that there is small

\* The occurrence of יָרִי in certain genealogies and הוֹלִיָּד in others has been made a pretext for assigning the former to J and the latter to P. This was traced by Kurtz, as stated HEBRAICA, V., p. 188, to variations in the old genealogical registers themselves, from which Moses has given extracts. It is observable, however, that הוֹלִיָּד is invariably used in the main line of descent and יָרִי as invariably in the side lines; to this 10:24 is no exception as it is here the antecedent of v. 26, and 17:20 is not in a genealogy. The more dignified word seems thus to have been set apart for the former, and the less dignified restricted to the latter, which certainly has the look of purpose rather than accident and may be more naturally explained as intentional variation by one writer, than the chance commingling of different writers.

opportunity to compare JE in this respect, yet see Gen. 22:23b; 25:4b, and ch. 36, considerable portions of which are assigned to J, though the critics are in much perplexity and disagreement. JE, however, is equally marked by the frequent use of identical phrases elsewhere, e. g., bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey, unto the land of the Canaanites and the Hittites, etc., etc., 3:8,17; 13:5; 33:1-3; cf. also 23:23; Josh. 3:10; 24:11; "the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob," Gen. 50:24; Ex. 33:1; Num. 32:11; Deut. 34:4; cf. Ex. 13:5,11; 32:13; Num. 11:12; 14:23; Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, Ex. 3:6,15, 16; 4:5; יִקַּד וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה "bowed the head and worshiped," Gen. 24:26,48; 43:28; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 34:8; Num. 22:31; "not believe nor hearken to the voice," Ex. 4:1,8,9; "I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say," Ex. 4:12,15.

How is P more "verbose and repetitious," "(1) 1:1b," than E in Gen. 40:5a; 41:11,12? or "(2) 1:7" than the amplification of J in Gen. 15:18-21, or even Gen. 8:22? If "(3) 2:24a adds nothing to 23b," does 3:9 E add more to 3:7? If "(4) 2:25" and "(5) 6:4b are unnecessary," how is it with 5:5b after v. 4 E, or 4:10 "of a slow tongue" after "slow of speech" J? (6) Is Aaron's wife more minutely described than Nahor's wife by J, Gen. 11:29? "(7) either 6:26 or 27 is wholly unnecessary." This is a mistake: v. 26 states what the Lord said to Moses and Aaron, v. 27 what they said to Pharaoh.

### 3. MATERIAL.

The "duplicates," "inconsistencies," "cases in which R's work appears," and most of the "differences" have already been explained. It is sufficient to add that (1) and (2) of the "differences" are confessedly to be accounted for "as co-existing facts." (3) "In J (3:7) and in E (3:9) God sees, etc., in P he only hears;" this overlooks the explicit statement in P 2:25 and God saw אָרָא. (5) "According to JE, Israel is spoken of by God as his people (3:7,10); but in P, he is just about to make them his nation (6:7)." This again overlooks 6:4 P, "my people the children of Israel."

### 4. THEOLOGY.

If "(1) the cry of the suffering goes up to God, 2:23," P, so it does 3:9 E; if in J God "comes down," 3:8, a like condescension is implied elsewhere in P in God's dwelling in the midst of his people, Ex. 29:45,46, filling the tabernacle with his glory, Ex. 40:35, and going up from Abraham, Gen. 17:22 and from Jacob, Gen. 35:13 after conversing with them. And here God's delivering aid is granted, which in Scripture phrase is as far as possible from being "remote." (2) "He only hears of their suffering, 2:24," (this is not an adequate paraphrase of "hearing their groaning"); "JE he sees it as well 3:7,9," so he does in P, 2:25. (3) "He only speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1; in JE he appears visibly, 3:2 sq." This

like the other things alleged only results from the critical sundering of what belongs together. Even thus, however, God tells Moses, 6:3 P, that he had "appeared" to the patriarchs, but was about to make a more ample disclosure of himself to Israel. And when Moses spake "before the Lord," 6:12, P, there may be a suggestion of a visible manifestation, which seems to be corroborated by 5:22 "Moses returned unto the Lord."

"God's revelation is formal: (1) his compassion is due to a promise made to the patriarchs, 2:24; 6:4 sq." God's gracious love to Israel for their fathers' sake is equally implied in JE in his announcing himself to Moses and to the people as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, 3:6 sq. "There is no familiarity between him and Moses; he simply orders; there is no sign, no persuasion as in JE," In point of fact there is the same condescending grace to Moses in his discouragement 6:31-7:2, P, as in his initial timidity, 4:10-16, J, and God promises, 7:3 P, "to multiply his signs in the land of Egypt."

"There is no indication of anthropomorphism." "The covenant with the patriarchs is emphasized." If I am capable of judging, these two sentences are contradictory. "In the prophetic writers there is no mention of" this covenant. What then is meant by God's calling himself the "God of their fathers," 3:13, 15, 16; 4:5, or by Gen. 15:18 J or Gen. 50:24 E?

#### B. The Portion assigned to J and E.

A glance at the conflicting modes of division, which here prevail, as they are exhibited, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 28 sq., 32, is sufficient to show the hopeless perplexity and confusion in which the critics find themselves. This is frankly confessed, *ibid.*, p. 35. (1) "It is freely admitted that the *prophetic* portion of this section does not show very distinctly, or even satisfactorily, a double authorship. (a) There are no duplicate stories (i. e., in a full form); (b) the language also is but a poor guide, owing probably to R's influence. [It is very convenient always to have R to throw the blame upon]. (c) Not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled. (2) We may, therefore, expect—what is actually the case—to find the greatest variation of opinion among the critics. So for instance, Kuen. and Kitt. pronounce the analysis of JE in the *early* chapters of Exodus, at least, almost impossible." When it is added that there are "sure traces" and "long passages clearly belonging to either writer," we shall see hereafter what these amount to. As to P being "very marked when contrasted with JE," we have already seen the insufficiency of the grounds for any such partition.

#### 1. Chapter 1.

Omitting the verses assigned to P, Wellhausen partitions the remainder of the chapter by giving to J v. 6 (as a doublet of Gen, 50:26 E), vs. 8-10 the pro-

posal of the new king (as related to J in language), which is severed from its proper basis in the immense multiplication of Israel, v. 7 P in spite of the evident allusion of *more and mightier* רב ועצום v. 9 to *multiplied and waxed mighty* וירבו ויעצמו v. 7. These words must accordingly be cut out of v. 7 as a part of a hypothetical sentence belonging to J. The same words recur, v. 20b, and must be once more sundered from their connection and given to J, though there is nothing to which to attach them. Then follows v. 22 the barbarous edict issued by the king to his people to murder all male children, which thus becomes the first and only measure of repression resorted to, instead of the last desperate expedient after all others had failed. Moreover, v. 22, thus sundered from vs. 15-20, which are essential to its proper explanation and limitation,\* would not apply specially to the children of the Hebrews. It is also sundered from 2:1-10 E, of which it supplies the necessary explanation. The residue, vs. 11,12,15-20a, is referred to E, and is an unexplained fragment, whose only reason and motive is found in J vs. 8-10.

Kittel abandons this division, though for the sake of finding the multiplication and consequent oppression of Israel in J as well as E he retains vs. 20b,22 for the former, the inconveniences of which have been already shown.

Other critics give up the attempt to separate what is so plainly indivisible and assign the whole to E. This is attended with the difficulty that subsequent sections of J as well as E imply this very narrative, and with the further difficulty that certain words elsewhere alleged to belong to J are here combined with those of E. Hence it has been assumed that though written by E it has been retouched by J, or that the words in question were introduced by R from a supposed parallel narrative by J, a further trace of whose existence is suspected in the imaginary doublet of v. 20a and 21. But v. 21 is obviously a more definite expansion of the general statement, 20a. And the assumption that these are traces of a parallel narrative otherwise unknown like similar assumptions with which we have met repeatedly before, has no basis but the hypothesis which it is adduced to support. A much more natural conclusion, which must stand until the contrary is proved, is that words thus bound together in one continuous passage are the common property of one and the same writer.

## 2. Chapter 2.

Wellhausen assigns vs. 1-10 to E and vs. 11-28a to J. But vs. 11-14 cannot be separated from what precedes. "When Moses was grown," v. 11, alludes to the previous narrative of his early childhood; "he went out (ויצא) unto his brethren" to his having been "brought in (ורבאהו) unto Pharaoh's daughter," v. 10; "their burdens" as 1:11; Egyptian and Hebrew, vs. 11-14 as 1:15,16,19; 2:6,7; "made thee prince over" (שם שר על) v. 14 as 1:11.

\* The verbal correspondence between v. 22 and vs. 17,18 *saved alive* is also to be noted.

Accordingly Schrader and Dillmann give vs. 1-14 to E and vs. 15-23a to J. But vs. 11-14\* is as essential to what follows as to what precedes. Moses is the brave defender of the weak and injured alike in vs. 11,12 and in v. 17. His flight, v. 15, was in consequence of its being known that he had killed the Egyptian. Schrader's notion that the motive assigned in v. 14 differs from that in v. 15 is set aside as futile by Dillmann and Jülicher. The peril in its becoming known was that it would reach the ears of the king. "The men who sought thy life," 4:19, are, as the form of expression shows, 2:15a, cf. 18:4, Pharaoh and his emissaries, and the death of the former is recorded, 2:23a.

Dillmann rests the division on the difference of names, Reuel 2:18, and Jethro 3:1 E; and then oddly enough annuls his own argument by insisting that there is a textual error in the name, 2:18. Instead of "Reuel," he says it should be "Hobab, the son of Reuel," as Num. 10:29. But if a change is to be made from mere conjecture, without even the pretence of any ancient authority, why not read "Jethro, the son of Reuel," as Ewald proposed? This would have a *quasi* confirmation from the LXX., which critics are fond of urging when it makes in their favor, so far at least as that Jethro is there introduced into 2:16,17. But then all pretext would be gone for assigning 2:15-23 and ch. 3 to distinct writers, and that is not what Dillmann wants. Wellhausen and Jülicher find no difficulty in ascribing 2:15sq. and 3:1sq. to the same writer, by expunging Reuel from the text of 2:18; and so the former gives both to J, the latter both to E. All which illustrates the ease with which a critic can effect his purpose; if the text does not suit him, he can construct one that will.

But if, as Dillmann contends, the same person could not have written Reuel, 2:18 and Jethro, 3:1, how could an intelligent redactor, who expected his work to be credited and understood, have put those sections together in their present form? The critics tell us that he introduces explanatory remarks upon occasion and even alterations for the sake of harmonizing discrepancies or removing difficulties. That he left the text as it is, may then be taken as a clear indication that he saw nothing that required explanation, and no discrepancy to remove. If therefore, as we must suppose, the statements here made were in the judgment of R mutually consistent and sufficiently intelligible, why may not the original writer have been of the same opinion? and why may not one and the same writer have produced both paragraphs? We fully accord with the remark of Dr. Dillmann already quoted that nothing is explained by charging incongruity upon R.

The passages before us are to be compared with Num. 10:29, Hobab, Moses' הוֹבָב, the son of Reuel, cf. Judg. 4:11. They contain, as Kurtz remarks, *Geschichte d. Alten Bundes*, II., p. 53, two elastic words, viz., *father* which may be

\* The falsity of the critical dictum that the same writer must always make use of the same words, is well illustrated by Jülicher from vs. 11-14, where נָצַח and הִכָּה, הִכָּה and הָרַג are interchanged in the same brief passage.

used either of an immediate parent or of a grandparent, and רִיבִי which like the Greek γαμβρός may denote either a father-in-law or a brother-in-law. Hence arise various possible solutions, any one of which is a sufficient answer to the charge of discrepancy.

1. Reuel, father of Zipporah as well as of Jethro and Hobab, brothers-in-law of Moses.

2. Reuel, grandfather of Zipporah and father of Jethro = Hobab, father-in-law of Moses.

3. Reuel = Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, and the father of Hobab the brother-in-law of Moses.

This last seems to me altogether the most satisfactory. Reuel was his proper name and Jethro or Jether, Ex. 4:18 (i. e. Excellency) his official designation.\* And there is no more difficulty in their being successively used in the same connection than if one should first name President Harrison and afterwards refer to him as His Excellency.

While Wellhausen gives 2:11-23a to J, and Dillmann vs. 15-23a, Jülicher insists that vs. 1-22 belong to E and only 23a to J. Verses 16 sqq. are plainly related to 8:1 by their common reference to Moses' marriage to the daughter of the priest of Midian and the flock of the latter. They are intimately linked with both of the documents, as the critics regard them, viz., with 18:2,3 E, cf. 2:21,22, a coincidence which Dillmann can only account for by assuming that J has here copied from E; also with 4:19 J, which evidently refers to 2:23a, which latter as evidently points back to 1:8 E. While thus assigning, each in his own varying fashion, one portion of the narrative to J and another to E, the critics confess that each document contains implications of and allusions to what is found only in the other. They find it impossible so to construct their documents, that they shall be independent of each other. Serious gaps are left in J, which need precisely what is given in E to fill them, and *vice versa*. Only Jülicher ventures the conjecture that E may have been the only narrator, who told of Moses' rescue by Pharaoh's daughter, J may have spoken briefly of the oppression in Egypt, and then, without knowing anything of children put to death by midwives or Egyptians, may have proceeded at once to the history of Moses. But even he is obliged to assume not only that J and E are mutually supplementary, but that P shows abundant marks of acquaintance with them. Such references from one of the alleged documents to another, of which we have found repeated instances, are indications of a common authorship.

Wellhausen is alone in the attempt to make out a separate narrative of J in ch. 2, which after all he confesses cannot be carried through. This is done by

\* Posset רִיבִי Jethro nomen esse muneris aut dignitatis, ut Pharaoh; nam רִיבִי dignitatem significat. Atque hoc videtur sensisse Josephus, II., 12, 1, qui ἐπικλημα esse dixit Ἰεθραϊον. Clericus Comment. in Ex. 2:18.

interpreting vs. 1,2 to mean that Moses was the eldest child of his parents, and then slicing from vs. 6 and 10 such portions as make no mention of Moses' sister, thus producing the semblance of another form of the story in which she has no part, but which runs thus "and behold, a weeping babe, and she had compassion on him and he became her son. And she called his name Moses, and said, Because I drew him out of the water." Meanwhile the omission of these clauses does not disturb the apparent continuity of the principal narrative. This is a fair specimen of the method, which Wellhausen everywhere employs in his attempts to establish duplicate narratives, and which is in fact adopted by that class of critics generally. It is ingenious and clever but baseless. How entirely arbitrary it is and how void of all historical value are results so obtained, is apparent.

### 3. Chapter 3.

Knobel assigns this and the two following chapters to J, who has here in the main not written independently but transcribed two older documents. One of these, which he calls the Rechtsbuch or Law-book, is represented in ch. 3 and is continued in 4:18,27-31, but in this latter section with additions by J. The writer of this document uses Elohim interchangeably with Jehovah, as is seen in the frequent alternation of these names in ch. 3; he agrees with P in holding that the name Jehovah was first introduced in the time of Moses, 3:14 sq.; he calls Moses' father-in-law not Reuel as in 2:18, but Jethro, 3:1, or Jether, 4:18; he speaks of the elders accompanying Moses when he went to Pharaoh, 3:18; of the women as borrowing or asking for jewels of gold and silver and costly raiment from their female neighbors, 3:22, to put upon their sons and daughters to wear in the feast which they were to observe in the wilderness, while according to 11:1 the borrowing was by every man and every woman and 12:35, by the people without distinction of sex.

The other document, which Knobel calls the Kriegsbuch or Book of Wars, is represented in 4:19-26, which is the direct continuation of 2:11-22. The writer of it agrees with P in making Moses demand the complete and unconditional release of Israel, 4:23, and Moses is to perform the signs before Pharaoh, 4:21. These older narratives agree with each other and with P in speaking only of miracles wrought upon or in the presence of the Egyptians, 3:20; 4:21.

On the other hand, 4:1-17 is by J himself, and tells of miracles wrought by Moses as his credentials before the Israelites, vs. 1 sqq. makes Aaron the speaker even with the children of Israel, vs. 16,30 regards Moses' shepherd staff as the rod with which the miracles were performed, v. 2, and records how Moses presumptuously declined the divine commission, v. 13, while the older accounts only speak of doubts or scruples which he entertained. Knobel further points out in minute detail the peculiar diction of each of these writers severally.

The little weight attached by critics themselves to such nice discriminations in style and in conception appears from the fact that these divisions of Knobel, sharply as they are made, and with all the array of minute distinctions both in thought and language, which he urges in their favor, have not been adopted by any of his critical successors. In fact nothing is easier than to create such factitious distinctions in any narrative. If it be divided into parts, and the separate parts be then compared together, it will of course be found that one does not relate precisely what is in the other. Each particular portion of a narrative tells its own part of the story and this naturally enough is not identical with what is told in the remaining portions. The points, in which one supplements the other, are not to be paraded as divergences, so long as there is no real variance. And a varying diction is not to be assumed because the writer has occasion to use words in one section which he does not need to employ in another.

The perplexity of the critics in ch. 3 arises from such an intermingling of what they regard as the criteria of different documents, that it is impossible to separate them. The one point in which they all agree is in assigning vs. 10-15 to E, and this not on the score of any peculiarity of diction, but simply because the fundamental postulate of this divisive hypothesis requires it. The primary assumption that a distinguishing feature of J is the use of the name Jehovah from the beginning, while in E it was first revealed to Moses, necessarily carries with it the ascription of this passage to the latter. But in all the rest of the chapter they are at sea. Wellhausen, though he acknowledges that the entire paragraph 3:1-4:17 creates the impression of unity or of one casting, nevertheless gives 3:1-9, 16-20 to J (with traces of E), and vs. 21,22 to E; Jülicher 3:7,8,16-22 to J, vs. 1-6,9-14 to E; Dillmann, the whole chapter to E (with traces of J).

When the alleged criteria of different documents are thus inseparably blended, the critics lay the responsibility upon R, who has not followed one document exclusively, but is supposed to have introduced words or phrases from an imaginary parallel in the other. But

(1) This is supporting hypothesis by hypothesis, and no particular reason can be given why R should have done this here and in other instances in which the like assumption is made.

(2) Such an assumption, moreover, undermines the very basis of the entire critical hypothesis. The determination of distinctive marks for the documents, by which the whole analysis is conducted and is held to be justified, takes for granted that the extracts from each have been preserved in their original form. If this is not the case, the foundation of their argument is gone. If R has blended and confused these documents with the frequency and to the extent that the critics are themselves obliged to assume, where is the guarantee that he has not done the same in other instances?

(3) What hypothesis, however unreasonable, could not be successfully main-

tained, if everything at variance with its requirements is held to be sufficiently accounted for by attributing it to R?

(4) The obvious inference from the premises before us is not that the text is at fault, nor that R has jumbled his sources together, but that the critics are not infallible. Their previous conclusions are based on insufficient data. What they have taken to be marks of distinct writers, are here shown to belong alike to one and the same.

#### 4. Chapter 4.

The critical analysis of this chapter is based on certain alleged discrepancies, which are no discrepancies at all.

(1) After the Lord appeared to Moses in Horeb and commissioned him to deliver Israel, Moses asks, v. 18, and obtains permission from Jethro to return to Egypt. In v. 19 the Lord bids him to return to Egypt, assuring him that the men are dead, who sought his life. And it is gravely represented that these are mutually exclusive, which they manifestly are not.

(2) It is charged that v. 20a, in which Moses takes his wife and sons with him to Egypt, conflicts with 18:2sq. from which it appears that they were subsequently with Jethro,—not, as the critics infer in direct contradiction to its express language, that he left her behind, but he *sent her back*. This clause the critics strike out and assign to R for no reason whatever, except that by doing so an apparent contradiction can be created. Those, to whom it is not an accepted canon that everything is to be expunged from the text, which establishes its coherence and consistency, will see no contrariety here.

(3) In v. 20, we read of Moses that "he returned to the land of Egypt." And yet in the following verse the Lord says to him "When thou goest to return into Egypt," etc. This, it is claimed, is not a continuous narrative. But the explanation is perfectly simple. Upon the first mention of his setting out the general statement is made, as is usual in Hebrew narrative, respecting his whole journey, "he returned to the land of Egypt." The incidents of the journey are then recited particularly, his taking the rod, the Lord's direction to him what to do with it, and what to say to Pharaoh, the affair at the lodging-place, and the meeting with Aaron.

(4) Wellhausen further charges that v. 27 is not the sequel of vs. 24–26, for at the lodging-place where the latter incident occurred, Moses was already beyond the mount of God, where Aaron was to meet him. How he knows where the lodging-place was, he does not inform us. But supposing him correct in this particular, the whole point of his objection lies in the assumption that a continuous narrative cannot deviate from the exact chronological arrangement of every detail. The writer here chooses to follow a topical order instead. As he has mentioned Moses' wife and sons, v. 20, he mentions an affair in which they

were concerned before proceeding to speak of his meeting with Aaron who was to act with him upon his arrival in Egypt. The chronological sequence does not lie in the initial term **וַיֵּלֶךְ**, but in the transaction, which it introduces, vs. 27-31, considered as a whole. See numerous similar examples in the discussion of Gen. 2:19; *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 148.

(5) It is alleged that vs. 17, 20b, 21 the rod with which Moses was to do signs before Pharaoh is quite a different conception from vs. 1-9, which records a series of miracles designed to accredit Moses before the people, in only one of which a rod is mentioned and that not as the instrument but as itself the subject of the miracle. Hence it is claimed that v. 17 does not refer back to the rod of vs. 2, 4, but to some narrative not preserved, in which a rod was consecrated and endowed with miraculous virtue for Moses' use in Egypt. But there is not the slightest discrepancy here, nor any suggestion of different narratives. All proceeds regularly and continuously. Moses was solicitous lest the people would not believe that the Lord had appeared to him, and the Lord gave him a series of signs to convince them. He was further charged to work miracles before Pharaoh, and for this purpose was bidden to take "this rod," i. e. the rod which had been changed to a serpent, as 7:15 explicitly declares. This testimony the critics seek to evade by ascribing it to R, it being their invariable usage to put an unwelcome witness summarily out of court.

(6) Wellhausen and Jülicher find an inconsistency between vs. 10-12, in which, upon Moses' plea of incapacity to speak, the Lord promises to be with his mouth, and vs. 13-16, where his continued reluctance is overcome by associating Aaron with him, as though Aaron's help were more reassuring than that of God himself, and besides in chs. 7-11 it is not Aaron but Moses who speaks to Pharaoh. On critical principles, then, vs. 13-16 must be by another writer than vs. 10-12, J; it cannot be by E, who gives no such prominence to Aaron, nor by P, whose parallel they find in 7:1, 2. Wellhausen and Jülicher accordingly refer it to Rj (who combined J and E). But Kittel aptly replies, why should Rj introduce Aaron here, if he was not mentioned in either of his sources? If this is a case of redactional interference, it can only be attributed to Rd (who added Deuteronomy) or Rh (the final redactor of the Hexateuch), who sought to conform this passage to P's representation. But even this, he urges cannot be so, for the manner of its introduction shows that this was not inserted by the Redactor purely of his own motion. If he were disposed to lay stress on Aaron's presence, and claim for him a prominent share in these transactions, he would have inserted his name elsewhere, or at least whenever Moses came before Pharaoh. But just there it is lacking. This, then, is not something bodily introduced by the Redactor with a purpose; it must have belonged to the original text.

Kittel suggests the possibility that J may have mentioned that Aaron was to be associated with Moses, though not to speak, and this may have been modified

by Rd in 4:13-16 into accordance with P. But the same difficulty arises here as before, that upon this supposition Rd would have made more extensive alterations in what follows. His only resource is to assume that J is itself composite, one of its constituents representing that all goes forward without Aaron, the other assuming his presence and co-operation.

But all this critical floundering is unnecessary. It grows out of the attempt to create a discrepancy, where, as Dillmann has shown, none exists. God's promise to be with Moses is not withdrawn in making Aaron his coadjutor, but he engages to be with them both. And Aaron is to assist Moses, not supersede him either in speech or action. The Lord says, v. 15, "I will be with thy mouth and his mouth and will teach you what ye shall do." Moreover, as this was intended to quiet Moses' anxiety lest the people should not believe him nor hearken to his voice, 4:1, it is unto *the people* that Aaron was to speak for Moses, v. 16, as it is recorded v. 30 that he actually did.

(7) Verses 27-31 are a puzzle to the critics, no one of whom has yet been able to bring them into accord with the marks which he has laid down for distinguishing the documents. Wellhausen admits the close connection of these verses in their present form to be undeniable and that they cannot be parcelled between distinct writers. The gathering of the elders, v. 29, cf. 3:16, and doing the signs before the people, v. 30, cf. vs. 1-9, point according to his scheme to J, who ascribes these acts to Moses. Hence he concludes that in the original form of vs. 29-31, it must have been Moses, who spake to the people and did the signs. Rj inserted Aaron along with him, and prefixed vs. 27,28, that Aaron as well as Moses might have the honor of having previously been at Horeb.

Jülicher credits Rj with a still larger share in the production of these verses. As he assigns 3:16 to E, and makes it a mark of distinction between J and E, that the former speaks of the people and the latter of the elders (not J of both, as Wellhausen), the elders as well as Aaron must have been interpolated in this passage of J. J merely wrote "Moses went and gathered the children of Israel and did the signs before the people." Rj is responsible for all the rest of vs. 27-30.

Dillmann, who concedes that vs. 14-16 belong to the original record and assigns them to J, has no difficulty in reconciling the part attributed to Aaron in vs. 27-31 with their composition by J. But as on his division E speaks of the elders, 3:16, and J of signs wrought and words spoken before the people, 4:1 sqq., 16, he is obliged to parcel these verses between J and E. To the latter he assigns 4:29 and the middle clauses of 31, leaving to J vs. 27,28,30 and the first and last clauses of 31. E wrote "And Moses ['and Aaron,' of whom E says nothing is an interpolation by R] went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel. . . and they heard that Jehovah had visited the children of Israel and that he had seen their affliction." J wrote "And Moses told Aaron all the words of

Jehovah wherewith he had sent him and all the signs wherewith he had charged him. . . . And Aaron spake all the words which Jehovah had spoken unto Moses and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed. . . . and they bowed their heads and worshipped."

The perfectly arbitrary character of all these divisions is obvious. The critic, on the basis of his partition elsewhere, lays down marks to distinguish the documents, and then carries them relentlessly through, however the passages to which they are applied may be mangled in the process. The plain fact is that none of the critical schemes can be made to fit this passage. It gathers up in itself references to and exact correspondences with the entire preceding narrative, which the critics insist upon sundering, but whose unity and common origin are here palpably demonstrated.

(8) Certain dislocations are also alleged, which require transpositions of the existing text for their correction. Thus, Dillmann urges that vs. 22,23, though belonging to J, are inappropriate where they are and must originally have stood just before 10:28. As vs. 20b,21 are assigned to E, v. 22 would in J connect directly with v. 20a, so that the very first message, which Moses is instructed to deliver to Pharaoh on his return to Egypt, is the announcement of the last of all the plagues, which was not in fact made till 11:4. And further, according to v. 23 (Hebrew text and Revised version) the demand had already been made upon Pharaoh to let Israel go and he had refused. But all the seeming incongruity is the work of the critics themselves, in sundering what belongs together. It is their thrusting v. 21 from the text, which has destroyed the connection and made all the trouble. Moses is there bidden to do all those wonders before Pharaoh, which God had put in his hand, viz., those that were to be wrought by the rod given him for that purpose, v. 17, but is at the same time informed that in spite of all Pharaoh's heart should be hardened and he would not let the people go. Thereupon it is entirely in place for God to inform Moses of the final result of Pharaoh's obstinacy, and of the message which he shall not immediately indeed, but at the proper time deliver to the recusant monarch. And there was a special reason why this disclosure should be made just then and why the fact should be recorded precisely where it is, as preliminary to the occurrence at the lodging-place, vs. 24-26. God's instrument in avenging Israel against Pharaoh cannot be suffered to be himself regardless of the obligations of an Israelite.

Again, as 4:19 plainly refers back to 2:23a, Wellhausen and Jülicher infer that they belong together, the former claiming that the original place of 2:23a was immediately before 4:19, and the latter, on the contrary, that 4:19 ought to stand immediately after 2:23a. Each succeeds in creating a new divergence between the documents by the transposition. Wellhausen finds that in J Moses resolved to return to Egypt as soon as he received the commission to deliver the children of Israel, 4:18; but in E the direction to return was not given

until a later time after the king of Egypt had died. Jüllicher by reversing the transposition discovers that in J Moses had already returned to Egypt before God appeared to him to bid him deliver the people, while in E he was still in Midian when this occurred. It is plain enough that neither discrepancy is in the text: they alike result from a critical process, which is altogether unwarranted.

As the discrepancies and dislocations, which are the only pretext for a critical division of this chapter, turn out upon examination to be imaginary, the division built upon them collapses entirely.

#### 5. Chapter 5:1-6:1.

This passage is according to Wellhausen borrowed entire from J, as shown by the correspondence of 5:3 with 3:18, and נגשים vs. 6,10,13,14 a different word for "taskmasters," from שרי מסים 1:11 E, though he notes two words for "task" or "tale" מתכנת v. 8 and תכן v. 18,\* and a redundancy of expression in vs. 4,5. In 5:1 he claims that R has substituted "Moses and Aaron" for "Moses and the elders," which according to 3:18 J must have written.

As, however, Dillmann gives 3:18 to E, this entire passage takes the same direction with him, for which he further pleads the occurrence of פגע vs. 3,20, showing upon what slender grounds the assignment of whole chapters hither and thither may be made. He traces the hand of R in the omission of "the elders" v. 1, the insertion of Aaron vs. 1,4,20, "hold a feast," v. 1, instead of "sacrifice," as 3:18; 5:3, etc., the doublet v. 5 (cf. v. 4), v. 9 (which has a word of P עברה and one of J שעה), 11b (which he fancies would be more appropriate after v. 13), and v. 22 where "returned" is introductory to the renewal of Moses' commission, 6:2sq., and is therefore unwelcome to the critics, who will have it that this is no renewal at all but simply P's account of what E had already described in ch. 3. These alleged manipulations of R, as we have repeatedly seen, merely betoken critical embarrassment and are an acknowledgment that the passage is not in these particulars, what according to the critic's scheme it ought to be; an acknowledgment, which is but scantily covered up by the assumption that R has been borrowing snatches from a hypothetical parallel narrative in J.

Jüllicher assigns vs. 1,2,5 to E and the remainder to J, assuming that Rj inserted Aaron, v. 1, and erased from v. 3 "Moses and the elders of Israel," which he supposes to have been expressed as the subject in its original form; though if Rj made this erasure because in his view no other than Aaron was associated with Moses in this transaction, why did he not erase "the elders of Israel" from 3:18 likewise?

\* Jüllicher remarks that like variations in the use of terms occur several times in the preceding chapters within the limits of what is accounted the same document, and are common in good writers; moreover these very words תכן and מתכנת occur together in the same verse, Ezek. 45:11.

It is of course easy enough for the critics, by the aid of R, to construct a text that will suit their hypothesis, as the present text manifestly does not. The combination here of "Moses and Aaron" will not answer either for Wellhausen's J, or for Dillmann's or Julicher's E. It enters its decided protest against the sundering of 3:18 from 4:14-16; which is a feature of every critical scheme. That "the elders" are not particularly mentioned in 4:1-3 is not due to any manipulation by R, as the critics think it necessary to assume. It merely shows that the writer was not so painfully precise as to record subordinate details, which were sufficiently implied in statements already made. It is plain enough from 3:18 that the elders were to accompany Moses and Aaron when they went before the king. Their presence was altogether subsidiary and it is simply taken for granted without further mention that the divine direction was complied with.

The minute and complicated apportionment, which the critics make of the next section, the narrative of the plagues, is based upon a rigorous demand for the explicit statement of every minute particular, which as the instance before us plainly shows is not always to be expected, a refusal to admit implications however obvious in lieu of it, and insisting upon finding a divergence in trifling variations in the form of statement, which are readily explicable without such an assumption.

## 1. LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) בקשי see Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) דורג also in E, Gen. 20:4,11; 27:20, etc. (3) רהטים Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (4) גרש HEBRAICA, V., p. 154 (also in E and P). (5) מדוע Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also in E). (6) מהר Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (7) דציל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (8) איה also in E, Gen. 22:7. (9) למה זה Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (10) עיב also in E, Ex. 23:5; Josh. 8:17; 24:16,20. (11) יאל (Hiph.) also in E. (12) יהוה (13) צעקה Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (14) ועתה also in P, Gen. 48:5 and E, Gen. 21:23, etc. (15) שמע בקול Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (also in E). (16) שלח יד Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (17) נא Sect. 12, Lang. of E (also in P, Gen. 34:8). (18) בי Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (19) אנכי Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in P, Gen. 28:4, often in E). (20) נם....נם Sect. 12, Lang. of J (also in E and P). (21) תמול שלשם Sect. 8, Lang. of E (also in P). (22) חרה HEBRAICA, V., p. 163 (also in E). (23) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in E). (24) שים HEBRAICA, V., p. 154 (also in E and P). (25) מאן Sect.

10, Lang. of E. (26) מלון HEBRAICA, VI., p. 22. (27) אן Sect. 12, Lang. of J (also E and P). (28) קדר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (29) שעה Ex. 5:9 and only Gen. 4:4,5 in Hex. beside. (30) עני Gen. 16:11; 29:32 J; 31:42; 41:52 E; Ex. 3:7,17; 4:31 J (Well.) but E (Dill.). (31) חיק Ex. 4:6,7, in Hex. beside only Gen. 16:5; Num. 11:12. (32) ארני also in E, Gen. 20:4.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) דלה Ex. 2:19<sup>bis</sup> J; 2:6 E.  
 (2) מכאוב Ex. 3:7 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex.  
 (3) יד חוקה Ex. 18:9; 32:11 J; Num. 20:20 E; Ex. 3:19; 6:1 J (Well.), E (Dill.).  
 (4) ונכ Ex. 4:4 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy.  
 (5) שלג Ex. 4:6 J; Num. 12:10 E worked over by J; all in Hex.  
 (6) אלים Ex. 4:4 J; all in Hex.  
 (7) פקח Ex. 4:11 J; 28:8 E; all in O. T.  
 (8) רפה *let go* Ex. 4:26 J; Qal only here in Hex.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 30.

It will be observed that no characteristic diction is made out for J; nearly all the words in the foregoing lists are found also in E.

## 2. LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) הַזְבוּחַ\* see V., p. 176, Lang. of J (יהוה). (2) הוּא נִם Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (3) שִׁים Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (4) קָרָא (happen) Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (5) פָּרַץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (6) מָדוּעַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (7) מָרַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (8) הָרָה V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (9) חָזַר verb Ex. 2:3 E, all in Hex; noun, Gen. 11:3 J (Dill. J); 14:10 special source (Dill. E), Ex. 2:3 E; all in Hex, (10) יָלַךְ also in J, Gen. 32:23; 33:1-14; 44:20. (11) יָאֵר also in J, Ex. 4:9; 7:25,28; 8:5,7; in P, 7:19; 8:1. (12) אָמַדָּה Sect. 6, Lang. of E, referred by rule to E. (13) נָרַל Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) טָמַן Sect. 9, Lang. of E (also in J). (15) אָכַן Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (16) אָנְכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (17) עָתָה V., p. 155 in J. (18) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (19) נָתַן לְ (permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also in J). (20) פָּן V., p. 155, in J. (21) לִבְנִים Gen. 11:3 J (Dill. J); Ex. 1:14 P (this word cut out solely on account of its evident allusion to ch. 5); 5:7,8,16,18,19 J (Well.), E (Dill.). (22) פָּנַע Sect. 8, Lang. of E (also in P). (23) תָּמוּל שֶׁלֶשׁם Sect. 18, Lang. of J. (24) עַל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (25) אוּץ Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (26) גַּם....גַּם Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (27) לִקְרֹאתָ Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (28) הִבִּיטָה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (29) הָלַם Gen. 16:18 J; Ex. 8:5 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. (30) פָּנַשׁ Gen. 32:18 E; 33:8 J; Ex. 4:24,27 J (Dill. and Well.); all in Hex. (31) פּוּץ Gen. 10:18; 49:7; Num. 10:35 J; Gen. 11:4,8,9 J (Dill. J); Ex. 5:12 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. except three times in Deuteronomy. (32) עָבַרְךָ Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) מִלֵּרֶת Gen. 35:17; Ex. 1:15-21 E; Gen. 33:28 J; all in O. T.  
 (2) צָפַן Ex. 2:2,3 E; Josh. 2:4 uncertain whether J or E (Dill.); all in Hex.  
 (3) חָרַב Ex. 8:1 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 17:8 E (Dill.), uncertain; (Well.) 33:6 E, and repeatedly in Deuteronomy; סִינִי is commonly referred

to P or J, but occurs in E, Ex. 19:11,18 (where Dill. says it was introduced by E from J), Deut. 33:2. Sinai is the name of the particular peak from which the law was given, Horeb a more general term for the whole cluster of mountains. While Israel lay encamped at its base, and in reference to laws enacted there it was natural to use the term Sinai; prior to God's descent upon Sinai and subsequently when they were at a distance, in the plains of Moab, as in Deuteronomy, it was equally natural to say Horeb.

(4) סָנָה Ex. 3:2,3,4 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Deut. 33:16 E; all in Hex.

(5) שָׁל נַעֲלַךְ וְגוּ Ex. 8:5 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Josh. 5:15 J; all in O. T.

(6) לְחוּץ noun Ex. 3:9 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Deut. 26:7; all in Hex; verb, Ex. 3:9 J or E; 22:20; 23:9 E; Num. 22:25 J; all in Hex.

(7) נִפְלְאוֹת Ex. 3:20 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 34:10 E; Josh. 3:5 E; all in Hex. [Josh. 5:9 cited VI., p. 84 is probably an inadvertence for Job 5:9.]

(8) רִיקָם Gen. 31:42; Ex. 3:21; 23:15 E; 34:20 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy.

(9) נָגַשׁ Ex. 3:7; 5:6,10,13,14 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex.

(10) שָׁטַר Ex. 5:6,10,14,15,19 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Num. 11:16 J; all in Hex. except Deuteronomy and passages in Joshua referred to D.

(11) קָשַׁשׁ Ex. 5:7,12 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Num. 15:32,33 P or a later addition to P; all in Hex.

(12) כָּאֵשׁ Gen. 34:30; Ex. 3:10 J; 7:21 E; 5:21; 7:18 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 16:20,24 P; all in Hex.

## RARE WORDS.

These, of course, afford no indication of a writer's ordinary diction.

(1) Nowhere else in Hex., a, גָּזָא 2:3; b, זָפַת 2:3; c, סוּף 2:3,5; d, מִשְׁהָה 2:10.

(2) Nowhere else in O. T., a, אֲמֹנִים (birth-stool) 1:16; b, לָבַת 8:2; c, נִרְפִים Niph. 5:8,17.

It will be seen how total is the failure to establish any characteristic diction for

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 84.

E; almost every word in the above lists occurs likewise in J. Nearly the entire narrative portion being given to J or E, and only a few insignificant scraps reserved for P, it is to be expected that a large proportion of the words employed will not be found in the latter.

J and E are so indistinguishable in "style," "material" and "theology," that they are considered together in all these respects, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 30, 32, 35. This is an admission that no argument can be thence derived for sundering J from E. The only thing calling for remark is the following summary of "E's special characteristics," *ibid.*, p. 34.

1) "This writer calls Mt. Sinai *Horeb*, 3:1." Explained above under "New Words" (3).

2) "An angel appears unto Moses, 3:2." So also to Hagar, Gen. 16:7-13 J; Lot, 19:1 J; Jacob, 32:24 (cf. Hos. 12:4) J (Well.); Balaam, Num. 22:22-35 J; Joshua, Josh. 5:13-15 (with explicit allusion to Ex. 3:5) J; to which in all fairness should be added Abraham, Gen. 22:11,15, though v. 11 is by the critics referred to E in spite of the name "Jehovah," and v. 15 though admitted to be akin to J in thought and expressions is ascribed to R.

3) "Moses' name is repeated in calling, 3:4." There are but two other instances of such repetition, Gen. 22:11; 46:2, the former of which ought on critical principles to be assigned to J; in other passages in E the name is not repeated, e. g., Gen. 31:11; 22:1,7; 21:17.

4) "Fondness for 'three days' journeys,' 3:18; 5:3." So J, Gen. 30:36; Num. 10:33b, cf. also Josh. 9:16; P, Num. 33:8.

5) "Even after recording the revelation of the name *Yahweh* in 3:15 sq., he continues regularly with אֱלֹהִים in the rest of his narrative, e. g., 4:20,27.\*" So far is this from being the case that the critics have frequent recourse to R to account for the absence of אֱלֹהִים in E, as is confessed, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 35, "not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled."

#### SECTION 14. Ex. 7:8-12:51.

The questions raised by the critics now become grave indeed in their bearing upon the truth and divine origin of the religion of the Old Testament. The details of patriarchal history are less vital than the events which we now approach, which are the credentials of the Mosaic revelation and the divinely given attestation that it is from Him whom all nature obeys and that it is charged with His supreme authority. The formula which declares the source of the Pentateuchal laws and their claim upon Israel's homage and obedience is "I am Jehovah thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the

\* Neither Wellhausen, Dillmann, nor Jülicher refer 4:27 to E.

house of bondage." And the fact that they were led forth "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with signs and wonders," is repeatedly appealed to in evidence that it was indeed Jehovah himself, who had wrought their deliverance. If now the record of these events is framed out of divergent and conflicting sources, as the critics claim, their credibility is, to say the least, seriously impaired. But if it is, as has always been believed, a contemporaneous and self-consistent narrative, this carries with it unimpeachable evidence of its truth and accuracy.

In a matter such as this we surely have the right to demand something more than plausible conjecture resting upon slight and dubious grounds. There should be clear and unambiguous proof proportionate to the gravity of the consequences suspended upon it. Can such proof be furnished? Let us see.

#### 1. The Grounds of Partition.

It is alleged that there are such characteristic and pervading differences in the narratives of the plagues as betray a diversity of writers.

1. The miracles are sometimes wrought by Aaron with his rod (P), 7:10,19; 8:1 sq.,12 sq. (A. V., 5 sq.,16 sq.); sometimes by the rod or hand of Moses (E), 7:17 (cf. 14); 9:23; 10:13,22; and sometimes without human instrumentality by the sole and immediate agency of Jehovah himself (J), 7:25,27 (A. V., 8:2); 8:17,20 (A. V., 21,24); 9:3,5 sq.,18,23b; 10:4,13b.

2. The miracles described by P are to be classed as signs rather than infictions; they are successive trials of strength between Aaron and the magicians of Egypt in which the latter are each time worsted more seriously than before, until finally they are discomfited altogether. These are framed after a uniform pattern: "Jehovah spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thy rod and do so and so that there may be....and they did so (as Jehovah commanded) and Aaron stretched out his rod and did so and so and there was....and the magicians did so with their enchantments and.... But Pharaoh's heart was hardened [or Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart] and he hearkened not to them as Jehovah had said." These form a regularly advancing series from the preliminary sign of rods changed to serpents through the first, second, third, and sixth plagues (blood, frogs, lice, boils). But in the remaining plagues (fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth) there is no allusion to the magicians whatever.

3. Certain of the plagues are announced beforehand (uniformly J). Moses is bidden to go to Pharaoh and demand the release of Israel, at the same time notifying him that if he refused to let them go such and such a plague would be sent, commonly at a specified time; so in the plagues of blood, frogs, flies, murrain, hail and locusts (first, second, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth (but not the third, sixth, and ninth).

4. In certain of the plagues the effect produced upon the king is expressly

stated (JE); he summons Moses and Aaron and begs them to entreat Jehovah for its removal and makes larger and larger concessions; but, when the plague was over, Pharaoh hardened his heart and would not let the people go. This takes place in the second, fourth, seventh, eighth and ninth plagues (frogs, flies, hail, locusts, darkness) but not in the third, fifth, and sixth.

Hence it is argued that the plagues not being regarded from the same point of view, nor described in the same manner, nor forming a continuous series in any of the respects named above, cannot all have been recorded by the same hand. Different accounts have been mingled together; but when these are disentangled and restored each to its proper separate form, the regular and orderly arrangement which is now confused will be brought to light.

In addition to the rod changed to a serpent the critics find the following plagues in

P (1) blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (6) boils.

J (1) blood, (2) frogs, (4) flies, (5) murrain, (7) hail, (8) locusts.

E (1) blood, (7) hail, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, with possible traces of two others, perhaps frogs and flies.

In reality, however, the plagues form a symmetrical and regularly unfolding scheme, as they stand in the record, without any confusion or derangement. The first nine plagues spontaneously divide themselves into three series of three each.

- |                           |                     |                         |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. (1) blood, 7:14-25.    | (4) flies, 8:16-28. | (7) hail, 9:13-35.      |
| 2. (2) frogs, 7:26-8:11.* | (5) murrain, 9:1-7. | (8) locusts, 10:1-20.   |
| 3. (3) lice, 8:12-15.     | (6) boils, 9:8-12.  | (9) darkness, 10:21-27. |

In each series the first and second are announced beforehand; the third is sent without warning. The regularly repeated formula in the first is with slight variations: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning and stand before Pharaoh,—lo! he cometh forth to the water,—and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah (the God of the Hebrews), Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou wilt not let my people go, behold I"....

The second of each series is introduced thus: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah (the God of the Hebrews), Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou refuse to let them go, behold I"†....

While the first in each series was thus pre-announced to the king by the river's side, and the second in his palace, the third was wrought without premonition, Jehovah simply giving direction to Moses or to Moses and Aaron.

This orderly arrangement of the plagues is rendered still more significant by their number, which cannot be merely the accidental result of combining separate

\* In A. V., 8:1-15, with a corresponding change in the verses throughout ch. 8.

† These recurring formulae would be called "stereotyped" and "repetitious," if they were found in P.

accounts, which differ both in the number of the plagues and in the substance of the plagues themselves. Nine follow in immediate succession, three times three, suggestive of the three degrees of comparison, each series rising to a climax, the final series the climax of all that preceded; and these are but the prelude to the tenth, which seals the completeness of the whole, like the ten digits and the ten commandments.

And not only in numerical structure but in intrinsic character the plagues proceed by regular gradation, growing in their intensity and severity from first to last. The water of the river, which was adored as divine, the source of Egypt's fertility, became so offensive, that the fish in it died and men could no longer drink of it. It next poured forth multitudes of disgusting vermin, frogs covering the land, filling the houses and the very bedchambers and beds of both king and people. Then the ground was smitten and its dust was alive with troublesome insects, lice (or fleas) upon man and beast. The insect pest was next intensified, swarms of stinging flies, abounding everywhere. Then a fatal pestilence attacking cattle, followed by boils and painful eruptions on the persons of men. To this succeed widespread destruction by an unheard of storm of hail with thunder and lightning, the still more extreme desolation by locusts, the awful darkness paralyzing all and filling all with terror, the precursor of the last, most terrible and crushing blow, the death of all the first-born throughout the land of Egypt from the palace to the dungeon.

A similar progress is observable in the specific aim of the several plagues, their range, and their attendant circumstances. In the first series the Egyptian magicians vie with Aaron, as they had done in the preliminary sign exhibited before Pharaoh of a rod turned into a serpent, 7:9-12. This is not a duplicate account of the miracle in the wilderness of Horeb, 4:2-4,\* intended as a sign wherewith Moses might convince the people, and afterwards wrought in their presence by Aaron as his representative, 4:30. This is a like sign wrought on a separate occasion by special divine direction for Pharaoh's conviction. His serpent charmers imitate it, but Aaron's rod swallowed up theirs. The first two plagues they also imitated, but appeal had to be made to Moses and Aaron for the removal of the second. In the third they altogether failed and confessed, "This is the finger of God." This ends the contest with the magicians. They make no further effort to repeat any of the miracles and are only mentioned once again in the plague inflicted upon persons. They are stricken like the rest.

\* "Serpent" in 4:3 is שׂוֹפָר, but in 7:9-12 תַּנִּין. This has been thought to indicate different writers. But שׂוֹפָר and תַּנִּין both occur in the same verse and in application to the same object, Isa. 27:1; and תַּנִּין is used in this same sense, Deut. 32:33; Ps. 91:13. תַּנִּין as the more comprehensive word is sometimes used generally of such reptiles as infest the water, and it may be suggestive of larger size. But in the passages now in question the words seem to be used as equivalents, which need create no more surprise than if a writer should use "serpent" in one passage and "snake" in another.

With the second series of plagues begins their explicit limitation to the Egyptians in contrast with the land of Goshen where Israel dwelt. The protection of Israel is expressly remarked in every plague from the fourth to the tenth, except two, viz., boils and locusts; and in these it is distinctly implied in their being specifically sent upon the Egyptians and the land of Egypt.

Once in the first series of plagues, once again in the second, and at each successive plague of the third series, Pharaoh sent with increasing urgency to Moses and Aaron to solicit their intercession on his behalf. He first promises to let the people go and asks to have the frogs taken away to-morrow. When flies are sent, he offers with more definiteness to let the people sacrifice in the land or to go into the wilderness for the purpose, if they do not go very far away. The hail wrings from him the confession I have sinned; I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. When he is threatened with locusts, Pharaoh's servants urge him to yield, and he proposes to let the men go but not the children. When they are actually sent, he calls in haste for Moses and Aaron, confesses his sin and begs to be forgiven only this once. In the plague of darkness he permits them to take their children but not their cattle. In the consternation at the death of the first-born he concedes everything; they may take their cattle too.

The first series is uniformly wrought by the rod of Aaron, and the third with equal uniformity by the rod of Moses.\* In the second series no rod is mentioned. The first two plagues of this series are simply announced by Moses. In conformity with the scheme upon which all the plagues are conducted, the third is not preannounced. It is linked with Moses by his being concerned in its production; it follows upon his act, not as those before it upon his word.

But here we are met by the question, Does the agency respectively attributed to Moses and to Aaron in their dealings with Pharaoh correspond with that which is outlined for them in 7:2? If to justify their partition of the text the critics infer from this verse that according to P, Aaron, not Moses, is to speak before Pharaoh, they gain nothing by it; for P does not, in all that they assign to him, record a single address to Pharaoh by either of the brothers from this verse forward.

It is plain, however, upon the face of this passage that Aaron is not to supersede or displace Moses. Moses was from the first the chosen organ of divine communication, and he holds throughout the superior rank, as 7:1 distinctly affirms. Aaron is simply called in as his assistant and coadjutor. Moses is to speak all that God commands him. Aaron is to aid him before Pharaoh. In conformity with this Jehovah directs Moses to speak to Pharaoh, 7:14, etc., etc. But Aaron uniformly accompanies him, and unites in the delivery of the message, 10:3, which is further implied in the repeated phrase, "Pharaoh hearkened not unto

\* Stretching forth his hand toward heaven, 10:22, is equivalent to stretching forth his rod, as is apparent from the comparison of 9:22 with v. 23 and 10:12 with v. 13.

them," 7:13,22, etc. He works the miracles, by which it is enforced, to the end of the first series of plagues;\* all after this are wrought by Moses. Pharaoh pressed by necessity invariably summons both Moses and Aaron and asks their intercession; but as Moses is the organ of communication with God, it is invariably he alone who intercedes. The critics, who wish to establish a distinction between P and J in regard to Aaron, are puzzled to account for his presence at all in the interviews with the king, which they assign to J. But if his name was inserted by R, to enhance the credit of the future high priest, why did he not make him the intercessor with God and give him altogether a more conspicuous part in the narrative?

The evidences of unity, that have now been recited, growing out of the structural arrangement of the plagues, and the various indications of one consistent plan ruling in the whole, cannot be easily set aside and certainly cannot be accidental.

Scarcely any account is made of diction in dividing this section; and as it would appear, with good reason, for what is urged is meagre enough. P uses the term "wonders," 7:3,9; 11:9,10, (but so does E, 4:21); and "pool," 7:19, which occurs but twice besides in the whole Pentateuch. "Magicians," though in Genesis used by E, is here ascribed to P. Three words are employed to denote the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, which vary slightly in signification, קשה hard or obdurate, חזק stout or obstinate, כבד heavy, hard to move or stubborn. These are used in both intransitive and transitive forms, and the latter with Jehovah or Pharaoh himself as subjects. It is alleged that J always uses כבד, yet he interchanges the adjectives כבד and חזק, 10:14,19; P and E alike make use of חזק and that in both its transitive and intransitive forms, a result reached in disregard of the critical dictum that E uses אלהים and not יהוה; † P also uses קשה, which occurs but once in this connection. כבד and חזק both occur after the plague of hail, 9:34,35, the former transitive attributing the hardening to Pharaoh's own agency, the latter intransitive. Instead of admitting that J has here used both words, the critics isolate v. 35 from its context and attach it elsewhere. The same is done with 10:20, which though in a J connection is referred to E notwithstanding יהוה, because it has חזק.

It is said that the P formula is "Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had said;" while that of JE is "Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he would not let the people go." Yet P has the latter phrase, 11:10; cf. also 6:11; 7:2. "Thou has not hearkened hitherto," 7:16 J, is a plain allusion to P's phrase just before, v. 13. In 8:11 (A. V. 15) J's phrase

\* Aaron is not the only miracle worker in P, according to the critics themselves. It was Moses who wrought the plague of boils, 9:10, and divided the Red Sea, 14:16,21; cf. 11:10 P.

† HEBRAICA, VI, p. 47. "In this section the name of the Deity is *exclusively* יהוה, which must have been substituted by R in all the passages; or else even E uses this name in this section, on the strength of 8:15, where Yahweh is revealed."

כָּבַד for the hardening of the heart and P's "hearkened not unto them" occur together, but instead of drawing the natural conclusion that one writer uses both expressions the critics split the sentence and divide it between J and P. If, as we are told, R has here erased חָזַק, P's word for "hardened," as superfluous after כָּבַד J, why did he allow both to remain, 9:34,35? In 9:35, moreover, E has a part of P's phrase "as Jehovah had said," which Jülicher finds it convenient to attribute to R. Where the presence of the magicians is noted, obstructing attention to the demand of Moses and Aaron, it was natural to say "Pharaoh hearkened not unto them;" everywhere else the statement is "he would not let the people go."

## 2. The Plague of Blood 7:14-25.

According to Knobel and Schrader P's account of this plague is found in 7:19-22. But if that be so, one of the discrepancies insisted upon between P and JE ceases to exist. It is said that P represents all the water in the land of Egypt as turned to blood, while JE limits this to the water of the river. But while v. 19 speaks of streams and rivers and ponds and pools and even the water in wood and stone as converted into blood, v. 20 lays stress only upon the water of the river, and v. 21 speaks of the fish dying in the river and the impossibility of drinking of the water of the river. Nöldeke and Kayser, therefore, assign these last two verses, which occur in the midst of P's statement, to JE, with the exception of the first clause of v. 20 "And Moses and Aaron did so as Jehovah commanded." Dillmann and Wellhausen do the same, only they except in addition the last clause of v. 21, "And there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt."

The further attempt to separate J from E leads to the splitting up of this entire paragraph into minute fragments. In the first place it becomes a question whether on critical principles J can be assigned any part here whatever, for he had already spoken, 4:9, of the change of water to blood in a different connection and for a different purpose, not as an infliction upon Egypt, but as a sign to convince the children of Israel. And there is quite as much reason for regarding that as a divergent account by J of the transaction here recorded, as there is for a similar allegation respecting 4:2-4 J and 7:8-12 P. But critics must be allowed to draw different conclusions from identical premises, when it suits their convenience.

7:14 is given to J because of כָּבַד. But 15b cannot be from J, who knows nothing of miracles wrought with a rod, nor from E who knows nothing of a rod turned into a serpent. This combined reference to 4:17 E and 4:3 J would seem to show that those verses cannot be sundered, as is done by the critics. They have, however, one refuge in every perplexity; this clause must have been inserted by R. If that is the case it is clear that in the judgment of R the rod which was turned to a serpent, 4:3, is the rod which Moses was to take in his

hand wherewith to do signs, 4:17, the critics to the contrary notwithstanding. And furthermore in the intent of the author of this paragraph in its present form the rod aforesaid is the one with which this miracle was wrought; it is identical, therefore, with the rod used by Aaron, v. 19.

Still further, v. 16 J is a plain reference to 3:18; 5:3, which are assigned by Dillmann to E; he is consequently obliged to assume that J has here made use of E. Verse 17a "In this thou shalt know that I am Jehovah," is by Jülicher attributed to Rj, who gives this religious aim to the miracle. The sudden change of speaker in v. 17 is particularly urged in proof that there is a confusion in the text arising from the blending of two distinct sources. "I will smite with the rod" is plainly the language of Moses, and yet it is prefaced with "Thus saith Jehovah." Such a transition from the words of God to those of his human messenger is, however, of too frequent occurrence to create surprise, cf. Isa. 48:16; Zech. 2:11; 4: 8,9. According to the critics, vs. 14-17 as far as the words, "Behold, I..." or "I will smite"... belong (with the exceptions already noted) to J, who attributes the plagues to the immediate agency of Jehovah. The remainder of v. 17 and perhaps v. 18 belong to E, who always employs the instrumentality of Moses' rod. E's account recommences v. 20 with the words, "And he (the pronoun is by the critics referred to Moses) lifted up the rod," etc., and continues in v. 21 as far as "water of the river," and finally embraces v. 24. Then v. 25, which speaks of Jehovah smiting the river is the conclusion of J's account. About v. 23 there is some perplexity. Wellhausen assigns it to P, Dillmann to E, Jülicher to J. "And this also he did not lay to heart," i. e., this miracle like the one before it failed to influence him, is an evident allusion to 7:9-12 P, whereas "Pharaoh turned and went into his house," refers back to his going out in the morning, v. 15 J (according to Dillmann on the basis of E). Here is again a combined reference to two passages sundered by the critics, which on their principles admits of no explanation. Hence their uncertainty what to do with it.

And now all this sundering and recombining simply makes a confused jumble of the whole matter.

1. The message to Pharaoh, vs. 14-18, the direction to Aaron to execute what had been announced to Pharaoh, v. 19, and his doing as he was directed, v. 20, belong together and are necessary to complete one another. They cannot be assigned to different writers without making each part a disconnected fragment. According to the critics' division J gives no account of the infliction of the plague; E's portion begins in the middle of a sentence, with no intimation who is speaking or to whom the words are addressed; P states in general, v. 20a, that Moses and Aaron did as they were commanded, but according to the analogy of 8:2,13 (A. V. 6,17) this should be followed by the specific act performed and its result,—precisely what in fact does follow in the rest of the verse but is by the critics ascribed to a different document.

2. The close verbal correspondence between vs. 17b,18 and 20b,21a, and the correspondence again between v. 19 and 8:1 (A. V. 5) is no argument for the critical division, for it is at once explained if all is from the same writer. The assumption that the double application of the pronoun "I" in v. 17 is due to R's confusing separate sentences imputes a degree of carelessness or stupidity to him that is quite inconceivable. And the mention of the rod, so far from being out of place or requiring the assumption of a different writer is just what v. 15 prepares us to expect.

3. There is no inconsistency in Moses speaking of smiting the waters, when in fact they were smitten by Aaron at his bidding. Moses simply acts through the instrumentality of Aaron. Nor is there any want of agreement between the command "Take thy rod and stretch out thine hand upon the waters" and the consequent action "he lifted up the rod and smote the waters." Stretching out the rod and smiting with the rod are similarly combined 8:12,13 (A. V. 16,17), only there both terms are inserted in each clause, while here the two clauses supplement each other. Nor is there any discrepancy in all the waters of Egypt becoming blood, whereas Moses had simply spoken to Pharaoh of the water of the river. This was singled out as the most conspicuous and important; and so again in recording the fulfilment, which yet proceeds to add that there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt. And the suggestion that Jehovah's smiting the river involves a different conception from its waters being changed to blood when smitten by divine direction refutes itself.

The space allotted to this article will not permit a like detailed examination of the remaining plagues. Wellhausen admits the impossibility of separating J from E in the plague of blood, frogs, hail and locusts. He would certainly have added that of flies, if he could have anticipated the hair-splitting analysis, which Dillmann struggles to carry through. And as these are the only ones, in which both these documents are supposed to enter, this is equivalent to a surrender of the whole case. The division which is attempted, rests not upon criteria of diction such as are held to distinguish the documents elsewhere, but solely upon distinctions arbitrarily assumed and which are relentlessly forced through in the manner already sufficiently illustrated.

### 3. Style, Material and Theology.

Such particulars as are grouped under these heads, HEBRAICA, VI., pp. 37sq., may now be considered, so far as they appear to call for remark and have not been answered already.

"P is systematic," precisely as the entire scheme of plagues is systematic, as has been fully shown.

When in P, Aaron is to "stretch his hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their streams, over their pools, and over all their ponds," and

particulars are given in other cases, this is called "minute, exact," *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 30. But when J says, the frogs shall "come into thine house and into thy bed-chamber and upon thy bed and into thine ovens and into thy kneading troughs," and like specifications are given regarding the flies, or the cattle that suffer from the murrain, this is called "vivid," p. 44.

If P is "minute, exact" when stating the duration of "Israel's stay in Egypt," so JE, seven days plague of blood, 7:25; three days darkness, 10:22,23; time defined "tomorrow," 8:6,19 (A. V. 10,23),9:5,6,18; about midnight, 11:4; exact condition of the several crops, 9:31,32.

P is "stereotyped;" so JE **שָׁלַח אֶת עַמִּי וַיַּעֲבֹדֵנִי** (six times), 7:16,26; 8:16 (A. V., 8:1,20); 9:1,13; 10:3. **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הָעִבְרִים** (six times), 3:8; (5:3); 7:16; 9:1,13; 10:3. **אִם מֵאֵן אַתָּה לְשַׁלַּח** (three times), 7:27 (A. V., 8:2); 9:2; 10:4; cf. 4:23; 7:14; 8:17. . . . . **וַיִּקְרָא פֶרְעֹה לְמֹשֶׁה וּלְאַהֲרֹן וַיֹּאמֶר** 8:4,21,25; 9:27,28; 10:17; **וְלֹא שָׁלַח** 8:28 (A. V., 32); 9:7,35; 10:20,(27); (11:10 P).

P is "verbose and repetitious;" so is JE, if the same standard and method of treatment be applied. 7:18b is repeated vs. 21,24; 7:29 (A. V., 8:4) adds nothing to v. 28; 8:7(11) is unnecessary after vs. 5,6(9,10); v. 9b(13b) is unnecessary after 9a(13a); v. 17(21) is needlessly amplified; v. 19a(23a) is needless after 18(22); the opening words are all that are needed in v. 20(24); v. 22(26) might have been expressed more briefly; v. 25(29) is needlessly amplified; the opening clause is all that is needed in v. 27(31). We might go similarly through the rest of the chapters if it was worth while.

The mode of inferring "duplicates" is peculiar. Unless there is fresh mention at every step of all that had gone before, it is assumed that the writer knew nothing of it. (1) 7:9 starts out *as if there never had been any thought* of showing wonders to Pharaoh; yet 4:21, etc. (2) The 'rod turning serpent' appears here *as something entirely original*, a representation which could hardly have been made by the writer of 4:3. (3) 7:19 has the air of a *perfectly new order* about the plague of blood, not appearing as if it had just been mentioned in v. 17." The words italicized above are entirely gratuitous, and not suggested by anything in the text itself. The writer surely could trust his readers to remember what he had said shortly before. It might as well be said of 7:20b that lifting up the rod and smiting the waters has the air of a perfectly new act never thought of before and it does not appear as if it had been announced, v. 17.

The want of connection alleged (4) between v. 19, all the waters and v. 20 the river *only* is created by inserting "only" which is not in the text and is annulled by "(5) 21b is a clumsy addition." Very clumsy in critical estimation because it overturns the false interpretation put upon the preceding, as though it limited the miracle to the river.

"(6) Verse 23 is a repetition of 22b, such as is not found elsewhere after the

same or similar formula." But it is found here and is a *crux criticorum* as has been shown before.

"(7) 8:1-3 does not seem to imply 7:26-29,"\* the same fallacy as in Nos. 1-3; "and it does not go with 8:4." But though the magicians might aggravate the plague, they could not remove it. There was every reason, therefore, why the prayers of Moses and Aaron should be asked for.

(8) Seven plagues "have warnings, while three come without any notice." This grows out of the symmetrical plan, exhibited above.

"Differences." (1) In JE "Moses is to perform the wonders before Pharaoh *without waiting for Pharaoh to ask for them*, 4:21; in P Aaron is to do them, at the request of Pharaoh, 7:9." Eliminate the italicized words, which are not in the text, and remember that Aaron was appointed to be Moses' helper, and where is the discrepancy? (2) תננין and נרש: this is explained above. (3) and (4) P every collection of water, J and E the Nile; explained above. (5) Magicians in but four of the ten plagues; explained above.

"Inconsistencies." (1) "Some of the differences mentioned above amount to incongruities." It has been shown that this is not the case. (2) "11:9 says 'that my wonders may be multiplied,'" while 11:1 says "yet one more plague will I bring." But that plague was multitudinous; there was a death in every household. And to add one more was to increase the number and thus make them more numerous. Apart from this, however, the whole apparent force of the objection lies in the tacit assumption that a sequence in the order of the record must necessarily indicate chronological succession. 11:9,10 do not in the order of time follow the foregoing, but are a summation of all that has preceded. This is obvious in v. 10. It is equally true of v. 9.

"R's free arrangement." Several suggestions are made under this head of an improved order of the verses. This is purely a matter of taste and may be left to be settled between R and the critics.

In P "God's revelation is formal and stiffly sublime: (1) He orders Moses and Aaron to do a certain thing and 'they did so.'" But the orders in JE, 9:22, 23; 10:12,13,21,22 are precisely parallel to those in P, 7:19; 8:1,2,12,13 (A. V. 5, 6,16,17). (2) "His orders are usually the simple fiat 'let it become a serpent'" etc., but precisely so JE, 9:22, "let there be hail;" 10:21, "let there be darkness." "(3) He does according to his will, without warning Pharaoh of his plans." Exactly so E, 10:21 sqq.

"(1) No miracle is shown, except when Pharaoh demands one, 7:9." A sign is provided in advance for convincing Pharaoh, 7:9 P, precisely as for convincing Israel, 4:1sqq. J. "(2) Each succeeding plague comes only because the preceding

\* The massoretic punctuation of בַּצַּרְדֵּיִם 7:27 does not annul the fact that the article הַ does not appear with צַרְדֵּיִם when first mentioned in the announcement to Pharaoh, but it is made definite both by הַ and אֶת in the direction to Aaron.

one did not touch Pharaoh's heart." Exactly so in JE. "It is only after the last plague (of boils) that Yahweh hardens the king's heart, and for that there is no punishment as in the prophetic story." Even as the critics parcel the plagues, was the death of the firstborn no punishment? And was the overthrow in the Red Sea no punishment, 14:4,8 P? "(3) It would seem that God did this in order that the exodus might be due directly to his intervention and not to Pharaoh's subjection." There is no difference here between P and JE. It was God's mighty hand that led Israel out in one as in the other. P speaks of the plague of the first-born, but says nothing of any hardening of Pharaoh's heart in connection with it as invariably with the other plagues. The implication is that this broke his obstinacy for the time, until Israel was some distance on their way, when he recovered himself sufficiently to pursue them.

"God is remote from man : (1) he enters into no negotiations with Pharaoh. (2) On the other hand he does not torment or vex Pharaoh [whatever this may mean] as in the representation of J." This is wholly due to the critical partition. That part of the record, which is assigned to J, is of course not left for P.

"The importance of Aaron is emphasized : (1) Aaron is invariably associated with Moses;" so in JE, 8:4,8,21 (A. V., 8,12,25); 9:27; 10:3,8,16. "And in all the plagues but one (the last) Aaron does the work." In the first series of plagues he acts by Moses' direction; in the remaining series Moses acts for himself. "(2) Even in receiving the divine orders, Aaron is mentioned in the first two, 6:13; 7:8, and in the last two, 9:8; 12:1." Nevertheless in P as in JE, God commonly speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1,2, etc., etc.

It seems unnecessary to pursue these details further, the bare statement of which suggests the answer. But it would be unpardonable not to notice the egregious misrepresentations on p. 48; I beg pardon, but I can call them by no milder name. "Yahweh encourages stealing (at least plundering) goods of the Egyptians, which are to be gotten only by lying, 11:2sq." The only seeming plausibility in this gross misstatement arises from the erroneous translation of a Hebrew word. The people were not bidden to "borrow" nor did the Egyptians "lend," 12:35,36, with any expectation or implication of the things being returned. They asked and the Egyptians bestowed. The Lord gave his people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, who were, moreover, in too great terror to refuse. They were urgent upon the Israelites to send them out of the land in haste and were only too glad to be rid of them at any price, since their detention by the king had been followed by such awful scourges. There was thus no deception in the case, and the transaction was legitimate from a triple point of view; the right of divine gift, the Sovereign Proprietor and Lord of all could justly dispose of the wealth of Egypt as he saw fit; the right of conquest, Israel was victorious in the struggle with Egypt and was in a position to dictate their own terms; the right of compensation for unrequited service which they had rendered and oppressive bondage which they had endured.

“Moreover, the asking for a three days’ journey only, 8:23, was under the circumstances not an honest request.” If one, who had a rightful claim and the power to enforce it, should in the first instance ask for a mere fraction of what was due him, in order to try the temper of the party with whom he was dealing, what suspicion of dishonesty would there be in such a course? It was with the view of setting the unreasonable obstinacy of Pharaoh in the most glaring light that so trifling a concession was asked. It was no stratagem for the sake of gaining an advantage. Jehovah had the power to set his people free and he meant to use it. He could just as easily have declared to Pharaoh his whole purpose at the beginning. But the despicable nature of the Egyptian tyrant, and the pitiless bondage to which Israel was subjected, would not have been so clearly exhibited.

“The necessity of indicating the Hebrew houses by blood upon the door-post is hardly compatible with the idea of an omniscient Deity.” It is difficult to repress one’s indignation at the irreverence of such suggestions. The blood on the door-posts was not to aid God’s omniscience, but to teach the need of atonement, to impress upon Israel that they too were exposed to death and must be delivered by the shedding of blood. It is the doctrine incessantly set forth in the whole sacrificial ritual, proclaiming the holiness and the pardoning mercy of God, but impairing none of his infinite perfections.

4. Chapter 12.

I must here be permitted to refer to the detailed discussion of the unity of this chapter in my Hebrew Feasts, Lectures 3 and 4, to which I have nothing material to add, and which there is not now space to repeat.

1. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

OLD WORDS.

(1) תָּנִין (= נחש) in JE, as explained above, V., p. 151 (also in J). (2) מְקוּהָ V., p. 151, only three times in Hex. (3) נֶפֶשׁ (= person) VI., p. 117 (also in J). (4) זָכַר Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J). (5) נָתַן (= שִׁים) V., p. 152 (also in J and E). (6) לָרִית Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (7) וּנְכַרְתָּהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (8) בְּעֵצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה V., p. 174 (7:13). (9) בֵּן נֹכַר Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J and E). (10) מִקְנֵת כֶּסֶף Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (11) מוֹל Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J and E). (12) יְהוּה.

NEW WORDS.

All of these (except No. 1) and several of the preceding are legal phrases and not to be looked for in any but a ritual connection.

(1) שְׂרִיץ in but two passages in P, Ex. 9:9,10 11; Lev. 18:18,19,20,23, and one in Deuteronomy viz.: 28:27,35; all in Hex. (2) עֵרַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (with or without בְּנֵי) legal phrase. (3) כֶּסֶם Ex. 12:4 P, all in O. T.; מִכְסָּה Ex. 12:4; Lev. 27:23 P, all in O. T.; a cognate word מִכָּם is found in a single passage, Num. 31:28,37,38,39,40,41 said by Dill. and Well. not to be by P, but a late addition. (4) מִשְׁמֵרֵת legal phrase; in Gen. 26:5 referred to R in a J connection. (5) בֵּין הָעַרְבִים legal phrase. (6) חֻקַּת עוֹלָם legal phrase. (7) מִקְרָא מִקְרָא legal phrase. (8) אֲחֻזָּה legal phrase.

WORDS USED IN ONE PASSAGE ONLY.

These, of course, afford no indication of a writer’s style.

(a) לָמִים (or לַהֲמִים) 7:11,22; 8:3,14. (b) פִּיחַ 9:3,10. (c) אֲבַעֲבַעַת 9:9,10.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., pp. 36,37.

## 2. LANGUAGE OF J.\*

It will be observed that almost every word here classed as belonging to J occurs likewise in E, so that they are indistinguishable in diction.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) מֵאֵן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) יְהוּדָה (also in E). (3) לִקְרֹאת Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (4) מִטָּה Sect. 12, Lang. of J (only four times in Hex.; twice J, twice cut out of an E and P context and ascribed to J). (5) עֵתֶר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (6) צֶעַק Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (7) עַל דְּבַר Gen. 12:17; 48:18; Ex. 8:8 J; Gen. 20:11 E; Num. 17:14; 25:18 *bts* P; Gen. 20:18; Num. 31:16 R; Deut. 22:24 *bts*; 23:5 D; all in Hex. (8) שִׁים V., p. 154 (also in P and E). (9) בָּאֵשׁ Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (10) הִשְׁכַּח Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (11) רִק Sect. 3, Lang. of J (also E). (12) יָכַף Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (13) פִּעַם V., p. 155 (Josh. 6:16a E). (14) מִקְנָה Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (15) אֲנָכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (16) חָרַל Sect. 10, Lang. of E (once P). (17) טָרַם V., p. 156 (also E, once P). (18) מוֹהַר Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (19) נָשָׂא (= forgive) Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (20) נָא Sect. 12, Lang. of E. (21) הִשְׁכַּח Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also E). (22) נָתַן לְ (= permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (23) קָרַד Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (24) גָּרַשׁ V. p. 154 (also E and P). (25) הִתְמַחֵם Sect. 11, Lang. of J (only three times in Hex.). (26) הַיָּאֵר (= Nile) Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (27) עֹזֵב Sect. 13, Lang. of J (also E). (28) חָרַר Gen. 48:30; Ex. 7:28 J; Deut. 32:25 poem inserted by J

but not composed by him; all in Hex. (29) אֲדַמְכֶם V., p. 153 (also P and E). (30) עָבַר Ex. 8:10 J; Gen. 41:35,49 cut out of E connection and assigned to J; all in Hex. (31) תָּלַל Gen. 31:7 E; Ex. 8:25b J (Well.) E (Dill.); all in Hex.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) נָגַף Ex. 7:27; 12:23 *bts*, 27; Lev. 26:17; Num. 14:42 J; Ex. 21:22,35 E; Josh. 24:5 cut out from E context and referred to J purely on account of this word; Ex. 32:35 E; all in Hex. except three times in Deuteronomy. (2) מִשְׁאֵרִית Ex. 7:28; 12:34 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy. (3) פָּלַה Ex. 8:18; 9:4; 11:7; 33:16 J; all in Hex. (4) יָסַד Ex. 9:18; Josh. 6:26 J; all in Hex. (5) חָרַץ עֵינַי הָאֵרֶץ Ex. 10:5,15 J; Num. 22:5, 11 E; all in Hex. (6) חָרַץ לְשׁוֹן Ex. 11:7 J; Josh. 10:21 E; all in Hex. (7) חָרַי אָף Ex. 11:3 J; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy.

## WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

These, of course, are destitute of all significance.

(1) רִוּחָה Ex. 8:11. (2) עָרַב Ex. 8:17 *bts*, 18, 20 *bts*, 25, 27. (3) פָּדוּת Ex. 8:19. (4) סָלַל Ex. 9:17. (5) עֹן Hiph. Ex. 9:19. (6) סָף Ex. 12:22. (7) פָּסַח verb Ex. 12:23, 27 J; 12:18 P.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF E.†

Every one of these words, that occurs in the Hex. more than once, is to be found likewise in J.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) הַיָּאֵר (= Nile) Lang. of J just preceding. (2) בָּאֵשׁ Lang. of J just preceding. (3) לֵאמֹה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (4) שִׁית Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (5) חָפַר Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also J). (6) רִק Lang. of J just preceding. (7) חָרַל Lang. of J just preceding. (8) טָף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (9) נָא Lang. of J just preceding. (10) בָּקַשׁ Sect. 10, Lang. of E (also J). (11) גָּרַשׁ Lang. of J just preceding. (12) קָדִים Sect. 10, Lang. of

E (also J). (13) אֲנִי + personal pronoun Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also J and P).

## NEW WORDS.

(1) מִתְלַקְחָת וְאֵשׁ Ex. 9:24; all in Hex. (2) פְּשָׁתָהּ Ex. 9:31 *bts*; all in Hex. (3) גָּבַעַל Ex. 9:31; all in Hex. (4) נָתַן Ex. 9:33 J; nowhere else. (5) אֲפִילָה Ex. 9:32; nowhere else. אֲפִילָה Ex. 10:22; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy. (6) גָּבַר Ex. 10:11; 12:37 E; Num. 24:3,15; Josh. 7:14,17,18 J; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy.

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 42,43.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 47.